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THE
CHOWKHAMBA SANSKRIT STUDIES
VOL XLVIII

PĀṆINI:

HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE,

AN INVESTIGATION
OF SOME
LITERARY AND CHRONOLOGICAL QUESTIONS
WHICH MAY BE SETTLED BY A STUDY OF HIS WORK

BY
THEODOR GOLDSTUCKER

FIRST INDIAN EDITION

EDITED BY
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M A D Phil LL. B F R A S (London)

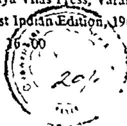
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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Pānini, the celebrated author of the Ashtādhyāyī has gained universal recognition as the greatest grammarian who has produced a scientific system of Sanskrit grammar Theodor Goldstucker, an erudite German Sanskrit scholar of the nineteenth century has written a scholarly treatise on Pānini His place in Sanskrit Literature This valuable work of Goldstucker was published from London in 1860 which went out of stock and print long since But it was not printed again, and the work remained beyond the access of the Sanskrit scholars, and its want has been greatly felt by them In order to meet their requirements the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office thought it fit to bring out its reprint under their scheme of publishing the rare works of eminent Sanskritists which are not available nowadays With this view the Publishers requested the reputed Sanskrit scholar, Prof S N Shāstri, M A, D Phil, LL B, F R A S (London) to edit the said work, who very kindly consented to do it In the present edition, the learned editor has appended the English translation of those quotations in German which have not been paraphrased by the author and has also given various useful Indices at the end to facilitate a ready reference, and revised the diacritical marks according to the popular method of Sanskrit transliteration This is the first Indian edition of this valuable work, and it is hoped that it will serve the advanced students of Sanskrit grammar for whom it is primarily meant

Vārānasi,
April 10, 1965

PUBLISHERS.

PREFACE

Since the acquaintance of the Western scholars with the ancient Indian literature in the earlies of the eighteenth century of the Christain era there has been a constant progress of the Indic studies in the Western world. During the ninteenth century, the West has produced many historical and critical treatises on various subjects of study comprising Sanskrit literature, and their lays have not only been very fruitful but very valuable as well in reconstructing the unbroken tradition of the great Indian heritage. The interest of the Western mind centred round mainly the Vaidika lore especially the Rg-veda the oldest literary composition possessed by the human race. With a view to attaining an appreciable mastery over the great treasure of knowledge stored in the ancient Indian literature, the Western scholars took due care to extend the field of their activity to the study of the **Vedangas,** *the six ancillaries which unfold the mysteries of the ancient mind to the study of the various systems of Indian Philosophy and of the classical Sanskrit literature. In process of time their efforts developed Indology as a distinct department of study under humanities, and the result has been an all round probe from the Western point of view into the Sanskrit lore and many a mind and diligent hand worked upon the vast field of Sanskrit literature. Most of these scholars, actuated with a prepossession of their superiority over others, endeavoured to interpret the sacred idiom of the ancient Hindus in their own way and took pride in differing partially or wholly from the traditions of the race which produced such an immensely valuable literature in the hoary past. While others who took a dispassionate view made an earnest endeavour to reveal to the modern scholarship the actual and the real sense of the ancient works, and did not hesitate to place, in the proper perspective, the intrinsic worth of the system of thought under their survey, and to appreciate the values of the contribution made by the anceint seers to the progress of humanity at large with no limitations of any clime*

or age Among the scholars of the latter trend of mind who ardently advanced the course of studies in Sanskrit language and literature in the ninteenth century through their literary productions of abiding interest, THEODOR GOLDSTUCKER is a great name

His Life Theodor Goldstücker was born of Jewish parents on the 18th of January 1821 at Konigsberg in Prussia After matriculating at the age of fifteen he attended lectures of Lobeck on classical philology, of Schubert on history and of Rosenkranz on Philosophy He studied elementary Sanskrit under P von Bohlen Later on, he proceeded to Bonn in 1838 and studied Arabic under Freytag and Indian literature under A W von Schlegel He took an advance course of studies in Sanskrit under Professor Lassen and took his degree of Doctor of Philosophy in 1840 at a tender age of nineteen In 1842 he went to Paris and in course of his stay of three years there he came in close contact with E Burnouf In 1845 he went back home and settled in Königsberg where he could not stay for long Two years after he moved to Berlin but even there he was not destined to stay longer In 1850, he accepted an invitation from H H Wilson to prepare a new edition of his Sanskrit Dictionary and went to England where he was appointed as an honorary Professor at the University College London in 1852 This assignment he held upto the end of his life He breathed his last on the 6th of March 1872

His Works As a result of his studies in Sanskrit literature his first work has been the translation of the well-known philosophical drama, the Prabodha Candrodaya of Krshna Misra, published in 1842 from Königsberg He prepared a new edition of the Mahābhārata a specimen of his critical ability His most outstanding work was the preparation of a critical Sanskrit-English dictionary the first and the only fasciculus of which was published from London during the long period of nine years, 1856-1864 This work in its preparation assumed such a voluminous magnitude that the task had to be given up even before the completion of the first letter of the Sanskrit Alphabet Nevertheless, the work in its initial pages has given hundreds of

valuable monographs which will ever remain a constant companion to scholars in the study of the subject under treatment Then in 1865 Goldstucker brought out the first fasciculus of his valuable compendium of the Mimānsā philosophy, viz the Jaiminiya-mālā-vistara of Mādhavāchārya The later fasciculi of this work were published posthumously in the name of Goldstücker by Professor Cowell In the meanwhile he took himself to the study of the Kalpa-sūtras and brought out a critical edition of the Mānava-Kalpa-sūtra from London in the year, 1861 For a considerably long period he was devoted to the studies of Pānini and his system of Sanskrit grammar No other Sanskrit scholar in the West was so very thoroughly acquainted with the most difficult works on Sanskrit grammar as was Goldstucker and he was day to day, adding his collections on grammatical works He had in his mind to bring out a comprehensive work on Sanskrit grammar, and as a result of his patient research and hard work he worked out a voluminous edition in six volumes of Patañjali s Mahābhāshya with Kaiyata's Bhāshya and Bhattojidikshita's Tikā on the latter The last two hundred pages of this magnum opus were published by the Government of India in 1874 Goldstucker contributed several articles on Indian Philosophy and Mythology which were collected and published after his death as his Literary Remains in 1879 His last work was On the deficiencies in the Present Administration of Hindu Law"

His Scholarship Goldstucker enjoyed a very high reputation for his versatile scholarship He was deemed a great authority on Sanskrit philology and general literature, Pāninian Grammar and Hindu law Alexander von Humboldt eulogised him in most *flattering terms even Burnoff consulted him often on technical points, Max Muller spoke of him as the greatest Sanskritists of his age As the highest European authority on the Hindu law, he was often consulted by the Government of India on knotty points of inheritance*

His works evince not only a rare scholarship but the greatest accuracy and remarkable completeness His thoroughness and an appreciation of the correct view-point with the requisite bold-

ness to present logically his contemporary opinion on a subject under his survey, are the outstanding merits of his sound knowledge and solid scholarship His outspoken criticism of scholars who hazarded their conclusions on their meagre understanding of the subject in their hand, made him at times a target of unscholarly bitterness, the very usual apology for the failures of fumbling scholars He had often to cross swords with those who occupied the Professorial chairs like Weber Roth Böhtlingk Kuhn and at places he had to differ even from Max Müller But the arguments advanced by Goldstucker could hardly be rebutted, and there have been occasions when his adversaries had to revise their opinion and recognise his merit His critical work " Pāṇini his place in Sanskrit literature is an outstanding contribution by Goldstücker, who very correctly assessed the worth of Pāṇini and vindicated his position in right earnest In course of this attempt the author had to differ from Weber radically and also to question the methods of Roth and Bohtlingk, the joint editors of St Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary On the view-point regarding acquaintance of the ancient Hindus with the art of writing Goldstucker had to examine threadbare the opinion of Max Müller recorded in his "Ancient Sanskrit literature', which is his distinct contribution to the assessment of ancient Hindu culture and civilisation

In the present work Goldstucker has first of all examined the significations of the terms like Sūtra kānda pattra patala varna karana akshara upadesa ūrdhva, mantra chhandas and has taken a critical notice of the views of Weber in particular Then he has taken up the problem of the dates of Kātyāyana and Pāṇini and assessed the views of Böhtlingk on the chronology of the ancient Hindu writers Then while treating the grammatical literature of Pāṇini he has taken due account of Kārikās Paribhāshās Vārttikās and Ishtis From a closer study of Pāṇini's work Goldstucker has deduced his own conclusions regarding Pāṇini s acquaintance with the Sanhitas of the Vedas, the Upanishads and the six systems of Hindu philosophy Then he has proceeded to the treatment of the chronological survey in relation to Pāṇini and the Unādi-sūtras,

Pāṇini and the Dhātupātha, Pāṇini and the Prātiśākhyas Pāṇini and the Phiṭ-sūtras, Pāṇini and Yāska, and Pāṇini and Gautama Buddha Towards the end of the present treatise the author has discussed the date and early history of Patañjali s Mahābhāshya and emphasised over the importance of the Hindu commentaries and the traditional element available in them He closes his dissertation with a note on the present position of Sanskrit Philology and vindicates his position against his adversaries Thus the present work of Goldstucker sheds a flood of light on several problems connected with the celebrated work of Pāṇini and presents a solution to some of the important chronological problems It is no doubt, a very valuable work and is indispensable for students of Sanskrit grammar who desire to be acquainted with the position of Pāṇini in the Sanskrit literature

This dissertation in fact forms a portion of his Preface to his edition of the Mānava-kalpa-sūtras, but, later on the admirers of Goldstucker pressed him to publish this fragment as an independent monograph for the benefit of the students of Pāṇini, and he conceded to this request It was published as such, in 1860 from London more or less in the form of an extract from his Introduction to the fac-simile of the Mānava-kalpa sūtras published by him Even this edition of the present work has been long since out of print and stock and for several decades past it has been beyond the reach of the present-day scholars With a view to making this valuable work once again available to the ardent students of Pāṇini it is being published for the first time in India While preparing this Indian edition, some of the portions which did not bear upon the treatment of the subject in hand have been omitted in order to enable the reader to have a grasp over the subject without diversion In the present edition, the diacritical marks have been revised thoroughly and a uniform system as prevalent today has been adopted The author has quite often cited extracts originally written in the German language and has almost invariably given its English translation as well All the same, at a few places he has not done the English rendering,

and of such passages the English version is appended in this edition at the end of the book Then, three indices showing the works, and authors under reference, and quotations alphabetically arranged are hereto appended in order to facilitate reference

The present editor hopes that this edition would serve the cause of the studies in Sanskrit and is thankful to the Proprietors of the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies who have very enthusiastically undertaken to bring out this Indian edition and earned the gratitude of the students of Pāṇini who have been, for a long time past, bereft of the company of an erudite scholar of the eminence of Theodor Goldstücker

Rāma Navami,
Vik Samvat 2022

S N Shastri.

EDITOR

TO

RUDOLF VIRCHOW,

THE GREAT DISCOVERER AND DEFENDER OF SCIENTIFIC TRUTH

THIS BOOK IS INSCRIBED

AS A TESTIMONY OF RESPECT AND ADMIRATION,

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE FRIEND,

THEODOR GOLDSTUCKER

AUTHOR'S NOTE

THE present pages form the Preface to the Facsimile of the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtra. The separate impression has been taken at the suggestion of my publishers and other friends, who thought that it would be desirable to make their contents more easy of access than they are in the original work.

This circumstance will explain the apparent incongruity of presenting them without the Manuscript which they describe.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON
November 2, 1860

TH G

46680

NOTICE

THE first part of the fifth volume of Professor Weber's 'Indische Studien,' in pretending to be a scientific review of the present pages, has attempted to refute nearly every conclusion they contain But as the plausibility which Professor Weber has endeavoured to impart to his objections, is based either on a misrepresentation of my method as well as of my principal arguments and results, or on the suppression of essential parts of my inquiry — though he distinctly professes to follow it "step by step' — or on the allegation of literary facts which do not exist, I have considered it my duty to examine and to illustrate this extraordinary proceeding in a pamphlet which will be issued to the public in a few months, and which, to my regret, must now precede the review I promised (page 268) to give of the Petersburg "Sanskrit Worterbuch'

In appending this warning to the present volume, I have now merely to state that, having carefully weighed the value of Professor Weber s objections, I do not find that they have invalidated any one of the main results which are here laid before the reader

TH G

London, 1st September 1861

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FRRATA

Page	line	For	Read
7	7	Chaturmās ya	Chāturmāsya
24	16	vice versā	vice versa
36	30	यदेदद्युत्त	यदेनदुक्त
83	11	Ashleshā	Āshleshā
87	15	contemoraTry	contemporary
96	12	anthor	author
143	27	cdition	edition
148	36	cousider	consider
155	10	belive	believe
159	12	Sāmavedahymns	Sāma-veda hymns
174	24	titerature	literature
176	22	Anrrecht	Aufrecht
181	15	Boehtlink	Boehtlingk
195	29	Gann ratna*	Gana-ratna*
197	33	Bochtlingk	Boehtlingk
201	31	matter of faet	matter of fact
205	32	fur	für
*207	6	stcht	steht
213	36	श्रीमद्भागवत	श्रीमद्भगवत्
225	32	ting	tin
227	last	Rk-Prat *	Rk-Prāt*
231	23	Gautamīyah	Gautamīyāh
233	et seq	Boehtlingk	Boethlingk
254	12	withtn	within
256	last	318	237 supra
*284	31	Geltun gzu	Geltung zu

* Errors not noticed even in the European edition

PĀṆINI:

HIS PLACE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

WHEN collecting materials for a History of the Mimānsā philosophy, I happened to find in the Library of the East India House a Manuscript (No 17), formerly belonging to the collection of Mr Colebrooke, which bore on its outer page the remark 'ऋग्वेदकुमारेलभाष्यस २२००,' (i e, 'the number of 32 syllables, in this commentary of *Kumārela* on the Rgveda is 2,200'), and ended on leaf 120 with these words 'ग्रथसंख्या ॥ २२०० ॥ छ ॥ कुमारेलभाष्य समाप्त ॥' (i e, 'the number, of 32 syllables, in the book is 2,200, end of the Commentary of Kumārela') The remark of the title, which differs in its handwriting from the rest of the book, seems to have been made by a Hindu, who, with much exactness, counted the number of the syllables for the copying of which he had to pay his scribe, but it certainly did not come from one conversant with Sanskrit literature Nor can a better opinion be entertained of the Shaikh who finished copying this volume—'Samvat 1643 (or 1585 after Christ), when the sun was progressing south of the equator, in the autumn season, during the light fortnight of the month Kārttika (October-November), in the city of Benares, for the perusal of Devayika (Devakīya ?), the son of Jānī and Mahīdhara, — or of the writer of his Manuscript,—since the Shaikh professes to have copied the latter with the utmost accuracy, faults and all, —for neither were the contents of this volume a commentary on the Rgveda, nor would a learned man have mis-spelt several words, and very common ones, too, of his own composition, and, above all, the name of one of the most celebrated authors of India In short, the Manuscript in question contained no other matter

than a portion of the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, together with a commentary of Kumārila Svāmin, the great Mīmānsā authority

A discovery of this ritual work, which had thus remained latent under a wrong designation, would at all times have been welcome to those engaged in the study of Vaidika literature, it gained in interest from the facts that a doubt had been raised, I do not know on what grounds, whether a copy of it had survived, and that a commentary of Kumārila on these *Sūtras*, had, so far as my knowledge goes, never yet been spoken of in any European or Sanskrit book

It was but natural, under these circumstances, that I should think of making the knowledge I had obtained generally available, by editing this manuscript, but, to my utter disappointment, I soon perceived, after having examined it in detail, that it belonged to that class of written books, the contents of which may be partially made out and partially guessed, but which are so hopelessly incorrect that a seeming restoration of their text would require a greater amount of conjecture than could be permitted to an editor, or might be consistent with the respect due to the author of the work itself

When, therefore, another copy of the Mānava Kalpa-Sūtras with the Commentary of Kumārila was not to be procured, and when I began to surmise that the volume in the possession of the East India House was a unique copy of this rare work I resolved, with the consent of Professor Wilson, to have a fac-*simile of it lithographed and printed* *This resolution was* strengthened by the consideration that even a correct text of these *Sūtras* would be serviceable only to the few scholars who are familiar with this branch of the oldest Sanskrit literature, and that they would be able, by the aid they might get from other existing *Sūtras* on the Vaidika ritual, and the Mīmānsā works, to turn to account even this incorrect manuscript, in spite of the many doubts it leaves It was strengthened, too, by the conviction I entertain, that unique manuscripts, or those which are rarely met with,— every existing copy of which consequently possesses a literary value much exceeding that of ordinary manuscripts,— ought to be saved from possible casualties by mechanical contrivances, the most

practical of which, as answering the requirements of the case and entailing the least expense, seems to be that which has been used in the production of the present fac-simile

I must, however, confess that after several disappointments in trying to secure the necessary aid, I should probably have been compelled to abandon my plan, had I not been able to avail myself of the assistance of a talented young lady, Miss Amelia Rattenbury, who, while devoting herself to the study of Sanskrit, came to my rescue, and, with much patience and skill, accomplished the tracing of the original

Her work may, indeed, in some parts, be still open to criticism, so far as the exact thickness of the letters on a few pages is concerned, or if some shortcomings, especially those which are noticed in the Errata, be too much insisted upon, but I must in fairness state that several omissions of *Anusvāras* or strokes, as pointed out in the Errata, are not her fault, but the result of accidents which occurred in transferring the fac-simile to stone, and such defects could not, it would seem, have been wholly avoided, notwithstanding the careful attention which was paid to the work by the lithographic printers, Messrs Standidge and Co, and, I may add, in spite of the great trouble I took myself in revising the proofs on the stones, and in thus combining the work of a Sanskritist with that of an apprentice in lithography Several sheets which failed to show distinctly some *Anusvāras* or parts of the letters themselves, though transferred to the stone and originally visible there, I cancelled at once, but this expeditious process became, by frequent repetition, so little convenient, that I had to submit at last, though reluctantly, to a list of Errata which, however small, seems to be at variance with the notion of a fac-simile

On the whole, however, and after this censure, the severity of which, I trust, no one will see occasion to increase, I must express my belief, that the text which is laid before the reader is, when amended by the aid of the Errata list, not merely a thoroughly correct representation of the contents of the special manuscript from which it is copied, but, at the

same time, a good specimen of a fac simile of a Sanskrit manuscript [1]

Of the work itself I have but little to say, for the Sanskrit scholars who will take an interest in it are well acquainted with the general characteristics of those ritual books which bear the name of Kalpa-Sūtras, and they know, too, that the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras teach the ceremonial connected with

1 It is necessary to observe that the original, in its actual bound condition, measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length and $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches in breadth, with the exception of fol 62 which is 4 inches broad The surplus of margin in the fac-simile belongs, therefore, to the latter The binder, in reducing the leaves of the original to the size stated, has in various instances encroached upon the writing, and cut away either portions of letters or even whole letters, which circumstance will account for the defects in the marginal additions of, especially, fol 1, 3*a*, *b*, 5*b*, 11*a*, 12*a*, 13*a*, 14*a*, 25*a*, 26*a*, 32*b*, 33*a*, 34*a*, 48*a*, *b*, 50*b*, 52*a*, 53*a*, 54*a*, 58*a*, 60*a*, 61*a*, 62*a*, 66*b*, 68*a*, 70*b*, 74*b*, 80*b*, 81*a*, 86*b*, 89*b*, 107*b*, 108*b*, 113*a* Another destructive animal, the white ant, has also added to the work of devastation in the interior of the MS, but much more rarely, on the margin of fol 16*a* two strokes (=) indicate the eaten portion Towards the end of the MS, especially from fol 90 upwards, the original has the appearance of having been smeared or powdered over, and this carelessness, caused no doubt by putting the leaves together before the writing was dry, has produced in several instances the errors of the fac-simile, especially as it became sometimes difficult or even impossible to tell whether a dot represented an original *anusvāra* or a smear I have to mention, besides, that the leaves of the original are bound so as to read downwards, and that the same arrangement has been preserved in the present work in order not to allow it to deviate from the appearance of its modern prototype There is good reason, however, to suppose that the ancient Hindus had the leaves of their MSS arranged so as to read in the reverse or upward direction For one liberty which has been taken in the fac-simile, I am personally answerable The remark on the outside page, mentioned above, with its mis-spelling of the name of Kumārila and its literary error, will not be found in this volume, its place is filled by the likeness of the god of literary accuracy who is invoked in the commencement of the work

the old recension of the Yajurveda, the Taittirīya-Samhitā The portion of these Sūtras contained in the present fac-simile comprises the first four books of the whole work the first or *Yājamāna* book, in two chapters (from fol 1 to 54 *a*, and 54 *a* to 55 *b*), the second on the *Agnyādhāna* (from fol 55 *b* to 84 *b*), the the third on the *Agnihotra* (from fol 84 *b* to 106 *a*), and the fourth on the *Chaturmāsya* sacrifices, in six chpaters (from fol 106 *a* to 108 *a*, from there to the end of fol 109 *a*, from 109 *b* to 112 *a*, from there to 113 *a* from 113 *a* to 115 *a*, and hence to the end)[2] That these books are the *first* portion

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2 There occur in the text and commentary of these books the following words for *sacrifices, sacrificial and other acts connected with them* अग्नु, अग्निचयन, अग्निपरिस्तरण, अग्निप्रस्तरण, अग्निमन्थन, अग्नियज्ञ, अग्निष्टोम, अग्निसंस्कार, अग्निहोत्र (दशहोत्राग्निहोत्र, प्रथमाग्निहोत्र), अग्निहोम, अग्न्याधान, अग्न्याधेय (आग्न्याधेयिक) अग्न्याधेयेष्टि, अग्रपाक अतिरात्र, अधियज्ञ, अधिश्रयण, अनुनायन, अनुमन्त्रण, अनुयाज अन्वाधान, अन्वारम्भणीया, अभिघार, अभिघारण, अभिनिर्वाप, अभिमर्शन, अभ्यञ्जन, अभ्युक्षण, अभ्यूहन, आग्नेययाग, आग्नेयीष्टि, आग्न्याधेयिक, आग्रायण, आज्यहोम, आज्याहुति, आधान, आमन्त्रण, आरम्भणीया, आवसन, आवसथ्य, आस्तरण, आहुति (यूपा०), आह्वान, इष्टि (ऐष्टिक), उत्पवन, उद्धनन, उद्धात्र, उद्धूलन, उद्वासन, उद्वाह (औद्वाहिक), उन्नयन, उपक्लृप्ति, उपचार, उपयमन, उपयाम, उपवपन, उपवसथ, उपसद्, ऐष्टिक, काकहोम, काम्येष्टि, कृष्णलपाक, गोदोह (गोदोहन), चर्विष्टि, चातुर्मास्य, चान्द्रायण, जप, तुषविमोक, तुषावाप, दर्श, दर्शपौर्णमास, दशहोत्राग्निहोत्र, दीक्षा, देवयजन (०नी), दोह (गो०), द्वादशाहिक, नाराशंस, नित्यहोम, नियतभोजन, निर्मन्थ, निर्वपण (निर्वाप), निष्टपन, निष्पावन, पत्नीसंयाज, परिमार्जन, परिवापण, परिषेक, परिस्तरण, परिहरण, पर्यग्निकरण, पर्युक्षण, पशुबन्ध, पशुश्रपण, पाक, पाकयज्ञ, पाणिग्रहण, पिण्डनिधान, पिण्डपितृयज्ञ, पितृकाय, पितृमेध पितृयज्ञ, पिष्टपेषण, पिष्टलेप, पूर्णाहुति, पौर्णमास, प्रणयन (अग्नि०), प्रथमाग्निहोत्र, प्रायश्चित्त, प्रेष, प्रोक्षण, प्रोहण, फलीकरण, बर्हिःप्रहरण, बर्हिःस्तरण, बलिहरण, ब्रह्मवरण, भक्तदान, मन्त्रस्तोम, मन्त्रावृत्ति, यज्ञ (यज्ञिय), याग, यूपवेष्टन, यूपसम्मार्जन, यूपाहुति, राजसूय, राष्ट्रभृत्, वपन, वरण (ब्रह्म०), वरुणप्रघास, वषट्कार (वषट्कृत), वत्सविन्यास, विहार (वैहारिक) वेदिकरण, वेदोपयाम, व्रतविमोक, व्रतोपायन, शुनासीर्य, श्मश्रुवपन, श्रपण, संस्कार, संस्पर्श, सत्त्र, सन्नहन, सन्निवपन, साकमेध (०धिक), सान्नपन (०नीय), सोमपान, सोमाधान, सोमेष्टि, स्तरण, स्वाहाकार, स्विष्टकृत्, होम, *for sacrificial substances, implements, prayers, or objects incidentally mentioned as referring to them* अग्नि (आहवनीयाग्नि, आहिताग्नि, उद्धृताग्नि, गार्हपत्याग्नि, दक्षिणाग्नि, शालाग्नि), अग्निष्ठ, अग्निहोत्रहवणी, अज, अश्व, अश्वत्थ अष्टाकपाल, आज्य, आनडुह, आमिक्षा, आहवनीयाग्नि, इडा, इध्म, इध्माबर्हिस्, इष्टिपशु.

of the Mānava-Sūtra results not merely from the matter treated in them, but also from a fact which accidentally came to my cognizance after the printing of the present volume had been completed

Professor Muller, who is engaged in writing a history of Vaidika literature, had met among the MSS of the East India House, which he consulted for his labour, one (No 599) which bore at its end the intimation of being a part of the Mānava-Sūtras, and when he showed me the MS, I saw at

उत्तरवेदि (औत्तरवेदिक), उपताग्नि, उपभृत् (औपभृत), उपल, उलूखल, ऊर्णा, एककपाल, ओदन, ओषधि, कपाल (अष्टा०, एक०, दश०, नव०, पञ्च०, षट्०, सप्त०), कर्षू, कांस्य, काष्ठ, कुण्डल, कुम्भी, कृष्णाजिन, क्षौम, खनित्र, खादिर, खलेवाली, गार्हपत्याग्नि, गुग्गुलु, गोक्षीर, गोमय, ग्रावन्, घृत, चमू, चरु, चरुस्थाली, चर्मन्, चात्वाल, जपमन्त्र, जरद्गव, जुहू (जौहव), तण्डुल, तिल, तुष, दक्षिणा, दक्षिणागार, दक्षिणाग्नि, दक्षिणापात्र, दण्ड, दधि, दर्भ, दर्भपिञ्जूल, दर्भरज्जु, दर्वी, दशकपाल, दित्यवाह् (दित्यौही), दृषद्, द्रप्स, धान्य, धिष्ण्य, ध्रुवा (ध्रौव), नवकपाल, नवनीत, पञ्चकपाल, परिधि, पर्णशाखा, पवित्र, पशु, पशुपुरोडाश, पात्र (पात्री), पिञ्जूल (दर्भ०), पिण्ड, पूतिक, पृथुग्रावन्, प्रणीता, प्रस्तर, प्राचीनावीत, बर्हिस्, बलि, ब्रह्मौदन (ब्रह्मौदनिक), भक्त, भद्रस्रुच्, भस्मन्, मधुपर्क, मन्त्र, महाहविस्, मांस, माष, मुद्ग, मुद्गर, मुसल, मूल, मृग, मृदङ्ग, मेषी, मौञ्ज, यज्ञायज्ञिय, यज्ञोपवीत (०तिन्), यव, यवागू, याज्यानुवाक्या, यूप, योक्त्र, रज्जु, रथ, लेखा, लेप, लोमन्, वत्स, वस्त्र, वामदेव्य, वारवन्तीय, वेदि (उत्तरवेदि, वेदिश्रोणि), वेदत्, व्रीहि, शकट, शतमान, शतायुध, शमी (शमीशाखा), शर, शराव, शाखा, शाला, शालाग्नि, शुक्र, शूर्प, श्मश्रु, श्यामाक, श्येनी, षट्कपाल, सप्तदशान्, समिष्टयजुस्, सम्भार, सान्नाय्य, सोम, स्तम्ब यजुस्, स्रुच् (स्रौच), स्रुव, स्फ्य, हविर्धान, हविस्, हिरण्य, *for the time of sacrificial acts, asterisms, etc* अनुमती, अमावास्या, उदयकाल, कृत्तिका, चैत्री, दक्षिणाकाल, द्यावापृथिवी, पुनर्वसु, प्रातर्, फाल्गुनी, भुवस्, भू, माध्यन्दिन, मार्गशीर्ष, मृगशिरस्, रात्रि, वर्षा (वार्षिक), रेवती, रोहिणी, वसन्त वैशाखी, व्युष्ट, शरद्, शिशिर, शुनासीर, संवत्सर, सद्यःकाल, सायम्, सूर्योदय, स्वर्, स्वर्ग, हेमन्त, *for priests, sacrificer, etc* अध्वर्यु (आध्वर्यव), आग्नीध्र, आवानर्त्विज्, उद्गातृ, ऋत्विज्, चमसाध्वर्यु, पत्नी, पुरोहित, प्रतिप्रस्थातृ, ब्रह्मन् (ब्रह्मत्व), यजमान (याजमान), यज्ञपति, यष्टृ, होतृ (हौत्र), *for divinities (and their derivatives)* अग्नि, अग्निषोमीय, अग्नीन्द्र (इन्द्राग्नि), अदिति, अपांनप्तृ, अपोनप्तृ (अपोनप्त्रीय), आग्नेन्द्र, आग्नेय, आदित्य, आश्विन, इन्द्र, इन्द्राणी, ऐन्द्र, ऐन्द्राग्न, गन्धर्व, तनूनपाद्, त्र्यम्बक, देव, देवता, पूषन्, मरुद्देव, बहुदेवत, बृहस्पति, मरुत् (मारुत), महेन्द्र, मैत्रावरुण, मैत्रायण, रक्षस्, रुद्र, वरुण (वारुण), वायु, विश्वेदेवा (वैश्वदेव), विष्णु, वैश्वानर, सूर्य (सौर्य), सोम, सौमपौष्ण, सौर्यवारुण, हिरण्यगर्भ।

once that it was written by the same writer who had copied the original of the present fac-simile, in a similar, though smaller and less elegant, handwriting, and immediately after he had copied the first four books For he states himself in his closing words that he finished copying 'the fifth part of the Agnishṭoma book of the Mānava-Sūtra, Samvat 1643 (or 1586 after Christ), when the sun was progressing north of the equator, in the winter season, during the light fortnight of the month Pausha (December-January), on the fifteenth lunar day, in the city of Benares', and the next syllable, immediately succeeded by a blank in the MS, makes it probable that he wrote this portion, too, for the perusal of the son of Mahidhara His conscienee, however, seems to have been more sensitive regarding the accuracy with which he had performed his task, at the end of the Agnishṭoma portion, than it was before, since he makes a very touching appeal to the indulgence of the reader, and is even modest enough to count himself amongst the scribes of limited intellect [3]

The contents of this latter manuscript, viz the description of the Agnishṭoma rites in five Adhyāyās,[4] now, too, explain

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3 I subjoin a literal copy of the last page (37) of this MS with *all the faults*, which will give some idea of the unhappy fate of these Mānava Sūtras in the hands of their ignorant transcriber यादृश पुस्तक दृष्ट्वा । तादृश लिषित मया ॥ यदि शुद्धमशुद्ध वा मम दोषा न दीयते ॥ १ ॥ अदृष्य भावात्मनि विभ्रमाद्वा ॥ यदर्धहान लिषित मयात्र । तत्सर्वमाय परिशोधनीय कोप न कुर्यात्सतु लेषकस्य ॥ २ ॥ यामतुल्यो पि यो वक्ता नानाशास्त्रविशारद । मुह्यते लिषमानो पि किं पुन स्वल्पबुद्धय ॥ ओं स्वस्ति ॥ सवत् १६४३ वर्षे शाके प्रवर्तमाने उत्तरायने हेमन्त ऋतौ महामाङ्गल्यप्रद ॥ पौषमासे शुक्लपक्षे १५ मास्यो तिथौ अद्येह काशिवास्तव्य मोहनानीय ॥ ज। ।। ॥ लिषितम् । लेषकपाठकयो शुभ भवतु ॥ मानव सूत्रस्य अग्निष्टोमाख्यस्य पचमभागस्य पुस्तकमलेखि ॥ श्री ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ चमसाध्वर्यव । होता १ ब्रह्म ॥ २ उद्गाता ३ यजमान । ४ प्रशास्ता । ५ ब्राह्मणाच्छसि ६ पोता ॥ ७ नेष्ट । ८ आग्नीध्र । ९ अच्छावाक । १० एते दश चमसाध्वयव and after this last piece of scholarship is added in a different hand स्वपुस्तक ॥ सौमसूत्र ॥ अध्या ५ (!)

4 Whether the work which is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS at Benares, p 118, under the title सोमसूत्रकल्पिधानम् (No 2603) be the same as the Agnishtoma porion of the Mānava-

the meaning of the concluding words of our MS (fol 120 *b*) प्रागसोमभाष्य सपूर्णं (which ought to be प्राक्सोम॰), for thy clearly point to a continuation treating on the Soma rites, which con tinuation is given in the MS, 599, so far as the text of the *Sūtras* goes, though this MS does not contain any further commentary of Kumārila

The text of the first four books of the *Sūtras* in our MS is, unhappily, only fragmentary Sometimes, but rarely, a *Sūtra* is given in full before the gloss of Kumārila, for the most part, however, the copy of the text, as is the case with many manuscripts of Commentaries on *Sūtras*, starts from the assumption that the reader possesses a MS which contains the words of the *Sūtra*, and refers to them by merely giving the first and the last word of the sentence which is the subject of the commentary Now and then, it is true, some further words of the *Sūtra* emerge from the gloss of Kumārila, but, though it is possible to understand the purport of his comment, it would be a fruitless task to try to construe from it the full detail of the text, since much of the latter is left unnoticed, as requiring, apparently, no gloss

The interest connected with the present volume centres, therefore, chiefly in the commentary of Kumārila, and in the fact itself that it is this great Mīmānsā writer who composed a commentary on the Mānava-Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Samhitā For, since in Sanskrit literature, commentaries on works which involve scientific convictions or religious belief were, as a rule, written by those alone who shared in these convictions or meant to defend this belief, it is a matter of significance that this celebrated representative of the Mīmānsā doctrine, who lived before Śankara, the commentator of the Vedānta-Sūtras,[5] should have attached his remarks to a *Sūtra* belonging to the Black-Yajus School

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Sūtras, I have had no means of asertaining The same Catalogue records the existence of the मानवमूत्रम् (p 78, No 761), but without naming the Commentary of Kumārila

5 Compare the Preface to the first edition of Wilson's Sanskrit Dictionary, p xviii *seqq*

That this circumstance cannot be accidental is rendered probable by collateral facts Kumārila quotes on two occasions (fol 14 *a* and 85 *d*) the opinion of Śabara-Svāmin on passages in the *Sūtras*, and as it is not the commentary of this author on the Jaimini Sūtras to which he refers, his quotation can only imply that Śabara had composed, besides, a gloss either on the Mānava-, or on other *Sūtras* of the same school Śabara, however, is, like Kumārila whom he preceeded, one of the principal authorities of the Mīmānsā philosophy[6] Mādhava also, the commentator on the Vedas, who may be considered as the last writer of eminence on the Mīmānsā, composed or indited a commentary on another *Sūtra* work of the Taittirīya Samhitā, the Sūtra of Baudhāyana Of commentators on other *Sūtras* of the Black Yajur-veda I do not speak, since they have not attained a prominent rank among the Mīmānsists But it ought not to be left unnoticed, on the other hand, that neither the Kalpa works connected with the Rgveda, nor those belonging to the Sāma, or White Yajur-veda, had commentators who, at the same time, wrote Mīmānsā works

It would seem, therefore, and I shall have to advert to this point in detail in a more appropriate place, that the Kalpa Sūtras of the Taittirīya-Samhitā represented or countenanced, more than other Kalpa Sūtras, the tenets and decisions of the Mīmānsā philosophers

6 I may mention, on this occasion, other quotations made by Kumārila He speaks several times of other Śākhās, without, however, specifying them (fol 9 *b*, 17 *a* 33 *a* 36 *b*, 41 *b*, etc etc), once even of a Krutaśākhā, (fol 80 *a*), of older teachers (Pūrvācāryās, fol 43 *b*—44 *a*, 85 *a*, Vrddhācārya, 119 *c*), of the Varāha Sutras (fol 75 *c*, 93 *b* 120 *b*), the Bhāshyakāra, who is probably the same as Sabara (fol 115 *a*), the Brāhmana bhāshya-kāra (fol 60 *b*, 63 *a*, 75 *b*), the Grhya bhāshya kāra (fol, 60 *a*), the Hārītabāshyakrt (fol 75), he names the Bahvrcās (20 *a*, 23 *b*,), the Yajurveda (fol 9 *a* and *b*), and Yājurvaidika (fol 12 *b*, 67 *a*), the Kāthaka (fol 9 *a*, 98 *b*), the Taittirīyaka (fol 60 *a*, 61 *b*, 66 *b*) a Brāhmana (fol 114 *b*), and the Sāmaveda (fol 9 *b*), Manu is usually called by him Sūtrakāra or Sūtrakrt (*e g* fol 43 *b*, 71 *b*, 75 *b*, etc , 29 *a*, 32 *a*, 35 *b*, etc) other authors of Sūtras, Sūtrakāras or Sūtrakrtas (fol 38 *a*, 77 *b*)

This intimate connection between the two will enable us, then, not merely to remove all doubt, if any exist, as to the *identity of the author of the* present commentary with the author of the Vārttikas on the Jaimini-Sūtras,— even if this identity were not proved by the peculiar style of Kumārila's composition, by his writing alternately in prose and *sloka by his* pithy remarks, and his strong expressions, but it will throw light, too, on the nature of the commentary itself

It is not a commentary in the ordinary sense, merely explaining obsolete or *difficult words, and giving the meaning of the* sentences, it is often nothing else than a regular discussion and refutation of divergent opinions which were probably expressed in other Kalpa works And the constant use it makes of current *Mīmānsā terms, in their Mīmānsā sense, such as apūrva, paramāpūrva, ūha, bādha,* to which may be added also, *vidhi, anuvāda arthavāda, purushārtha, krtvartha, bheda (mantrabheda vākyabheda),* on account of the frequent application these latter words find in the Mīmānsā writings,—impresses on the discussions of Kumārila the full stamp of a Mīmānsā reasoning

There is one fact which deserves special mention, though it has only an indirect bearing on the present work In the *Sūtras*, I 3, 10-12, Jaimini treats of the question whether the Kalpa works have the same authority as the Veda or not, in other terms, whether they must be ascribed to divine or to human authorship, and decides in favour of the latter alternative Kumārila, in his Vārttikas on this chapter, gives instances of the works of several authors which would fall under this category, he names, in the course of his discussion, the Sūtrās of Baudhāyana, Varāha, Maśaka, Āśvalāyana, Vaijavāpa, Drāhyāyana, Lātyāyana, Kātyāyana and Āpastamba, but though his *et cætera* imply that he did not intend to give a complete list, it is certainly remarkable that he should not have named the Mānava-Sūtras, which he has commented upon, more especially as he makes reference to the Dharmaśāstra of Manu

Śabara, also, his predecessor, who mentions, in his Bhāshya on the same *Sūtras* of Jaimini, the Māśaka-, Hāstika-, and Kaundinya Kalpa-Sūtra, does not speak of the Mānava And, to

conclude, the same omission strikes us in the Jaiminiya-nyāya-mālā-vistara of Mādhava, who names the Baudhāyana-, Āpastamba-, Āśvalāyana-, and Kātyāyana-Kalpa-Sūtras, but makes no allusion to our work

It may be, and it even is probable, that Kumārila wrote his gloss on the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtra after he had finished his Vārttikas, on the *Sūtras* of Jaimini But this circumstance alone cannot account for the omission of this Kalpa work from his Vārttikas, nor does it offer any explanation of the general silence in regard to it of the other renowned writers on the Mīmānsā philosophy

I believe that the reason for this silence must be sought for in the decision of Jaimini, and in the legendary character of Manu, the reputed author of our Kalpa work At the time of Śabara, Manu was no doubt already viewed by his countrymen in the same light in which he appears in the Dharmaśāstra that bears his name but protesses distinctly not to be the immediate work of Manu himself, and, consequently, could be safely alluded to This mythical character, however, of Manu results from the legends connected with a personage of this name in the Śatapatha brāhmana and the Rgveda itself To prove, therefore, on the one hand, that the Kalpa-Sūtras are human work, and to hold before the reader's eye the name of an individual who, if less than a god, was, at all events, believed to be more than a man, would have been a proceeding which might either have shaken the conviction which it was intended to produce, or tinged the doctrine of the propounders with a hue of heresy which certainly neither Śabara, nor Kumārila, nor Mādhava meant to impart to his commentary Probably, therefore, it appeared safer to evade this awkward illustration of the human character of a Sūtrakāra, and to be satisfied with instances of a more tangible and less delicate kind

From our point of view, however, and I conclude from the point of view of the Mīmānsists themselves, there is no reason to doubt that *a* Manu, the author of the present Sūtras, was as much a real personage as Baudhāyana and the other Sūtrakāras who were never raised to a superhuman dignity I can no more

see a valid argument for doubting the existence of this Manu, because his name would mean, etymologically, "a thinking being, a man," and because mythology has lent this character to the father of the human race, also called Manu, than there would be for doubting the real existence of the Brāhmana caste, merely because they ascribe their bodily origin to the Creator of the World And as to the name of Manu (man) itself, it does not seem more striking or even more strange than other proper names in the Vaidika time, than, for instance, the proper names Prāna, *life*, Eka, *one*, Itara, or Anyatara, *either of two* Pañchan, *five*, Saptan, *seven*, Ashtan, *eight*, Śiras, *head*, Loman, *hair* Vindu, *drop*, etc

To assign a date to the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, even approximately, is a task I am incapable of performing, though, judging from the contents of this work, it may seem plausible to assert that they are more recent than the Sūtras of Baudhāyana and older than those of Āpastamba But I have not any means of ascertaining when these latter works were composed

It may not, however, be superfluous to add that they were either younger than Pānini or, at least, not so much preceeding his time as to be ranked by him amongst the old Kalpa works For in an important *Sūtra* of his grammar he states that the names of old Kalpa works are formed with the affix *in*, and it follows therefore that none of the works of this kind, which are likely to be still in existence, and amongst them the Mānava-Kalpa-Sūtras, are, from Pānini's point of view, old Kalpa works[7] And when I express the opinion that there is no tenable ground for assigning to Pānini so recent a date as that which has been given to him, *viz* the middle of the fourth century before Christ, but that there is on the contrary a presumption that he preceeded the time of the founder of the

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7 Pānini iv 3, 105 This Sutra is comprised under the head iv 3 101, which extends as far as 111 In the gloss on some of these Sutras the Kāsikā, the Siddh -k, and the Calcutta Pandits who composed or compiled the printed commentary, have introduced the word ब्राह्मणे in addition to प्रोक्तम् I hold, arbitrarily,— since it is neither indicated by the head rule, nor met with in the Mahābhāshya

Buddhistic creed,—I have advanced as much, as much, or as little, as, I believe, can be safely advanced on the date of the present Kalpa work



After the foregoing lines were written I received Professor Max Muller's '*History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature, so far as it illustrates the primitive religion of the Brāhmaṇas* (1859)' To acknowledge the merits of this work, which shows the great importance of the religious development of India, to acknowledge the light it throws on the obscurest parts of Hindu literature, and the comprehensive learning it has brought to bear on many an intricate topic connected with the rise and progress of Hindu grammar, law, and theology, must be the first and not the least gratifying feeling of every one interested in Sanskrit, and more especially in Vaidika philology The greater, however, this new claim of the editor of the Rgveda to our gratitude, the more does his work impose on us the duty of examining, among the topics of which it treats, those, which seem to require additional evidence before they can be considered as having attained a definite settlement I take advantage of this opportunity, therefore, to re-open the discussion on two points, which seem to me to fall under this predicament, especially as they concern every work of the Vaidika literature, and equally bear on the present ritual book I mean the question of the introduction of writing into India,[8] and the general question of the chronology of Vaidika works [9]

8 Muller's History, P 497—524 This chapter is reprinted in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (No ii 1859), with the following note which became my first inducement to treat the matter on th s occasion 'This paper is an extract from a work now in the press on the history of ancient Sanskrit literature Professor Muller has sent it for the *Society s Journal in the hope of eliciting some fresh information* from European or native scholars in India on the interestig questions which it discusses

9 The same pp 244, 313, 435, 572

Müller's view on the first of these questions is contained in the following words (p 524) 'If writing came in towards the latter half of the Sūtra period,[10] it would no doubt be applied at the same time to reducing the hymns and Brāhmanas to a written form Previously to that time, however we are bound to maintain that the collection of the hymns, and the immense mass of the Brāhmana literature, were preserved by means of oral tradition only,' and (p 507) 'But there are stronger arguments than these (viz, the arguments alleged by him, pp 497–507), to prove that, before the time of Pānini, and before the first spreading of Buddhism in India, writing for literary purposes was absolutely unknown If writing had been known to Pānini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words I maintain that there is not a single word in Pānini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing etc'

Muller maintains, therefore, that not merely *before* the time of Pānini, but to Pānini himself, writing was unknown, and as according to his view, 'Pānini lived in the middle of the fourth century B C' (pp 245, 301 ff),[11] it would follow that, according to him, India was not yet in possession of the most useful of arts at the time when Plato died and Aristotle flourished

I must confess that I could not, and cannot, look upon this assertion otherwise than as a splendid paradox, which, it is true, makes up for its want of power of convincing by the ingenuity of the defence with which it is supported, and the interest which may be derived from the extraneous matter it has brought to its aid, and, had I happened to read this *chapter before the rest, I should probably* have thought that the idea of conceiving India without reed and ink until, or after, Pānini's death, did not originate with Muller before the close of his learned work, and then only that he might crown, as it were, its merits by some extraordinary feat

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10 This period extends, according to his views, from 600 to 200 B C (p 244)

11 This date will be the subject of ulterior remarks

But though justice requires me to admit that such is not the case, —that, on the contrary, the same opinion pervades the earlier portions of his book,[12] I must still say that it does not seem to have taken root in his mind with that strong conviction which produces an impression on others, for it appears psychologically doubtful that an author, having that conviction, could even metaphorically speak of the 'prayer-*book* of the Hotrs (pp 187, 473), or say that Kātyāyana, whom he defines as 'the contemporary of Pānini' (p 138, and elsewhere), '*writes* in the Bhāshya' (p 138), '*wrote* the Vārttikas' (p 148), '*writes* in prose' (p 229), or that he could call the Sūtrakāras '*writers* of Sūtras' (p 215)

No one, I believe, will easily imagine a civilized people who at the time of the Mantras (the period prior to that of the Sūtras and Brāhmanas), were such as to possess 'arts, sciences, institutes, and vices of civilized life, golden ornaments, coats of mail, weapons of offence, the use of precious metals, of musical instruments, the fabrication of cars, and the employment of the needle the knowledge of drugs and antidotes, the practice of medicine, and computation of the divisions of time to a minute extent, including repeated allusions to the seventh season or intercalary month' and again, 'laws of property,'[13] 'laws of inheritance, and of simple contract, or buying and selling,'[14] — having a civilisation which Professor Wilson characterises in the preface to his excellent Translation of the Rgveda (vol ii, p xvii), as 'differing little, if at all, from that in which they were found by the Greeks at Alexander's

12 e g p 137, "the rules of the Prātiśākhyas were not intended for written literature, p 200, note, 'the question whether the Hindus possessed a knowledge of the art of writing during the Sūtra period, will have to be discussed hereafter, p 362, 'if we remember that in these old times literary works did not exist in writing' [to 'remember' this on p 362 is difficult since the theory is propounded p 497—524], p 311, 'in India, where before the time of Pānini we have no evidence of any written literature etc'

13 See Wilson s Translation of the Rgveda, vol ii p xvi

14 *Ibid* vol iii p xvii

invasion,' — no one, I believe, will easily imagine a people in such a state of civilisation unacquainted with the art of writing, though no mention of this art be made in the hymns to the gods And is it really plausible that even 600 or 700 years later, the greatest grammarian of India composed a most artificial and most scientific system of grammar, utterly ignorant of the simplest tool which might have assisted him in his work ? Should it be possible to realise an advanced stage of social development without a knowledge of writing, then it is needless, of course, to refer to the arts, sciences, measures, and coins mentioned in the Sūtras of Pānini, yet I will advert, within the limits of these preliminary remarks, to one fact, at least, which it may be as well not to overlook

We know from Herodotus that Darius, the son of Hystaspes, subdued the Hindus,[15] and we have inscriptions of this king himself which tell us that amongst the nations subdued by him were the Gadara and Hidhu or the Gāndhāras, and the peoples living on the banks of the Indus[16] Could Pānini, therefore, who was a native of Gandhāra, had he lived after Darius, as Muller supposes to be the case, have remained ignorant of the fact that writing was known in Persia ? And if not, would he not, in composing his work, have profited by this knowledge, *provided, of course, that he was not acquainted previously with* this art, independently of his acquaintance with the Persian alphabet ? This question is answered, however, I believe, by a word which is the subject of one of his special rules (IV 1 49), the word *yavanānī*, explained by Kātyāyana and Patañjali as meaning the '*writing* of the Yavanas' Both Weber and Muller mention this word, the former as meaning 'the writing of the Greeks or Semites (Ind St I p 144), or, as he later opines, of the Greeks alone (IV 89), the latter (p 521) 'a variety of the Semitic alphabet, which, previous to Alexander, and previous to Pānini, became the type of the Indian alphabet' It would seem to me, that it denotes the writing of the Persians, and probably the cuneiform writing which was known already,

15 iv 44 *μετα δε τουτους περιπλωσαντα, Ινδους τε κατεστρεψατο Δαρειος* etc

16 Compare Lassen's Ind Alterth i 422, ii 112, 113, and the quotations given there

before the time of Darius, and is peculiar enough in its appearance, and different enough from the alphabet of the Hindus, to explain the fact that its name called for the formation of a separate word

While I intend to address myself now to the special arguments offered by Muller, for the theory that writing was unknown to Pānini, I find myself, as it were, arrested by his own words, for, after having proposed his reasons in support of this theory (from page 497 to page 520), he makes the following remark on the word *lipikara*, 'a writer or engraver,' which I quote in full — 'This last word *lipikara* is an important word, for it is the only word in the Sūtras of Pānini that can be legitimately adduced to prove that Pānini was acquainted with the art of writing He teaches the formation of this word in 2, 21' Whether it *is* the only word which can be legitimately adduced for such a proof, I shall have to examine But even on the supposition that it is, I must really question the purport of the whole discussion, if Muller himself admits that Pānini would have pointed to this word *lipikara* had it been his task to defend himself against the imputation of being ignorant of the art of writing For it becomes obviously immaterial whether the word *lipikara* occurs once or a hundred times in the Sūtras, — whether another similar word be discoverable in his Grammar or not, one word is clearly sufficient to establish the fact, and to remove all doubt This admission of Muller, which upsets all he has tried to impress upon our minds, is doubtless very creditable to his candour, for it shows his wish to elicit the truth, and fully confirms our faith in what he says at the end of his essay 'It is possible I may have overlooked some words in the Brāhmanas and Sūtras, which would prove the existence of written books previous to Pānini If so, it is not from any wish to suppress them' But since he has not even tried to invalidate by a single word the conclusion which necessarily follows from this admission, it would be like carrying owls to Athens if I endeavoured to prove what is sufficiently proved already by himself

Nevertheless, I will do so, not only out of respect for his labour, but because the observations I am going to make may

tend to show that there is much more evidence in Pānini than this solitary word for the assumption that he was not merely conversant with writing, but that his Grammar could not even have been composed as it is now, without the application to it of written letters and signs

The chief argument of Muller is a negative one the absence of words which mean book, ink, paper, and the like Thus he says of the Vaidika hymns (p 497) 'Where writing is known, it is almost impossible to compose a thousand hymns without bringing in some such words as, writing, reading, paper, or pen Yet there is not one single allusion in these hymns to anything connected with writing,' or (p 512) 'If we take the ordinary modern words for book, paper, ink, writing, etc, not one of them has yet been discovered in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity'[17] I do not think that such an argument, in its generality, can ever be held to be a conclusive proof It is not the purpose of the Vaidika hymns to tell us that pen and ink were known to the Āryas, it becomes, therefore, entirely a matter of chance whether so prosaic an object be mentioned in them or not,—whether the poets borrow their figures from paper and book, or from the life of the elements The very instances Muller has adduced from the Psalms will probably leave in every one's mind the impression that these songs might easily have existed, without any damage to their reputation, even if they had not contained the three verses which bespeak the scholarship of their authors, and the book of Job too, if it had not that literary longing which is contained in Muller's *happy quotation* 'Oh, that my words were now written! oh, that they were printed in a book!" But what applies to poetical songs, avails with still greater force in a grammatical work. Pānini s object is to record such phenomena of the language as are of interest from a *grammatical* point of view Sometimes the words which belong to his province, will be at the same time also of historical and antiquarian interest, but it does not follow at all, that because a word of the latter category is omitted in his rules, it is absent from the language also, the extreme con-

17 Not even *lipi* ?

clusion would be that it is a word of no grammatical interest, and this conclusion itself, to be correct, would imply that Pāṇini was a perfect author, and did not omit any word or words which ought to have been noticed by him on grammatical grounds

'There is no word', says Muller, 'for book, paper, ink, writing, etc, in any Sanskrit work of genuine antiquity' (p 512) Of *lip* 'to write', I need say no more, since it is the base of *lipi* I agree with him that the verbs *adhi* (अधी) or *vach* (वच् in the c ius) which are used in the sense to read', contain no proof of their applying to a written work, since the former means literally 'to go over mentally, to acquire', and the latter 'to cause to speak'[18] I am equally willing to admit that the divisions of literary works which are frequently met with, such as *anuvāl as prasnas mandalas -pāthas, vargas sūktas* etc, cannot be compared with such words as *volumen* a volume, *liber*, i e the inner bark of a tree, or βίβλος, i e βύβλος, the inner bark of the papyrus, or *book*, i e beech-wood' (p, 515) But I cannot admit that there is no word of genuine antiquity meaning book, or division of book, which cannot be compared with those latter words of the cognate languages One word is indeed supplied by Muller himself at the end of his essay, it undoes, as it were, all that precedes on this subject, in the same way as *lipikara* undid his arguments against Pāṇini's acquaintance with writing

After the words I have quoted above, "if so, it is not from any wish to suppress them', he continues (523) "I believe, indeed, that the Brāhmanas were preserved by oral tradition only, but I should feel inclined to claim an acquaintance with the art of writing for the authors of the Sūtras And there is one word which seems to strengthen such a supposition We find that several of the Sūtras are divided into chapters, called *patalas* This is a word never used for the subdivision of the Brāhmanas Its meaning is a covering, the surrounding skin or membrane, it is also used for a tree If so, it would seem to be almost synonymous with *liber* and βίβλος, and it would mean *book*, after meaning originally a sheet of paper

18 Thus Pāṇini himself says, V 2, 84, श्रोत्रियंश्छन्दोऽधीते ।

made of the surrounding bark of trees" But he seems to have entirely overlooked—no doubt on account of its common occurrence — the word *kāṇḍa*, which is the name of a division of the Taittirīya-Sanhitā and—Brāhmanas, not to speak of the frequent application it has found at a later period in denoting chapters of ritual books, or ritual books themselves, such as *kāmyeshti-kānda kāmya paśu-kāṇḍa, paurodāsika-kāṇḍa, āgneya-kānda, hautra-kānda, adhvaryu-kānda yajamāna-kānda, sattra-kānda*, etc And *kāṇḍa*, before meaning *book*, means 'the part of the trunk of a tree whence the branches proceed,—a stalk or stem,' — it is therefore, a fair representative of our word *book* But, if such is the original purport of *patala*, and of the more frequent *kānda*, I cannot conceive on what grounds Muller founds his doubt (p 513) of *pattra* meaning the leaf of a book, in works of genuine antiquity, since *pattra* means, originally, the leaf of a tree, and since palm-leaves, even now bespeak the use which has been made of them for literary purposes For, though Urvaśī writes her amatory letter on a 'birch leaf,'— which, then, is called, not merely *pattra*, but *bhūrja-pattra*,—it does not follow that ordinary letters of literary works must also have been engraved on what was probably a rarer material than the leaf of a palm tree or of a lotus

Besides *kāṇḍa* and *patala*, there are, however, two other important words, in the sense of work, which could not but attract the attention of Professor Muller—the words *sūtra* and *grantha* The former, which means, literally, "string", has become, according to him (p 512), the well-known name of an extensive class of works, by assuming the figurative sense, 'strings of rules' The latter, he says (p 522), 'is derived from a root *grath*, which means *nectere serere Grantha* therefore, like the later *sandarbha*, would simply mean a composition It corresponds etymologically with the Latin *textus* Thus it is used by the commentator to Nir i 20, where he says *that former teachers handed down the hymns, granthato'rthatascha*,[19] 'according to their text, and according to their meaning In the later literature of India, *grantha* was used for

19 Similarly, e g, Kullūka on Manu, VII 43, गिरेरीमर्थेनो ग्रन्थ नश्चाम्यसेत् See also, 'Muir's Original Sanskrit Texts,' vol ii p 175

a volume, and, in *granthakuti*, a library, we see clearly that it has that meaning But in the early literature *grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book, it means simply a composition, as opposed to a traditional work "

That '*Sūtra* may have assumed the sense of 'string of rules' before it became the name of a book, is possible, but that it must have gone through *this* metaphorical process, and no other — as the certainty with which Muller explains the term would imply, — [2] is not corroborated by any proof he has given, nor is it even plausible Before, however, I give my own opinion on this word, it will be necessary, first, to ascertain whether the word *Sūtra* —which is used in the singular both as a name for a whole collection of rules, and as a name for a single *sūtra* — denoted, originally, the latter, and then became the designation of the former, or *vice versa* Thus, the Kāśikāvṛtti calls Pāṇini's Sūtra, V 4, 151, *gana-sūtram*, and speaks of the *five sūtras* 1 3, 72—76, *svaritañita iti pañchabhis sūtrair ātmanepadam etc* *evam pañchasūtryam udāhāryam*, and Patañjali says, in the introduction to Pāṇini, *Sūtrāṇi chāpy adhiyāna ishyate vaiyākarana iti*, 'he who studies the *Sūtras* is termed a grammarian' But if we examine the use which Pāṇini himself makes of this word, we find that he always used *sūtra* as a term for the whole collection of rules, and not as an expression for a single Sūtra IV 2, 65, *Sūtrāch cha kopadhāt* IV 3, 110, '*Pārāsarya-silālibhyām bhikshu-nata-sūtrayoh* (where the dual shows that the analysis requires *bhikshusūtre* and *natasūtre*) In his Rules, IV 2, 60, and V, I 58, the number of the word is less clear, since it is part of a compound, yet the instances of Patañjali to the Vārttikas, and some explanations of the Kāsikā (*e g Kalpasūtram adhite Kālpasūtrah*, and *ashtāv adhyāyāh parimānam asya sūtrasya ashtakam pāṇiniyam*) leave little doubt that it is likewise to be taken there as a singular In a similar manner it is used in Patañjali's comment on II 3, 66, v 2, *Sobhanā khalu Pāṇineh sūtrasya krtih* [1] It would seem, therefore, since no higher

2 We meet with Brāhmanas, the sayings of Brāhmanas, with Sutras *i e*, the strings of rules' (p 512)

21 In the Sutra VIII 3, 90, and the Gana to V 4, 29, its sense is

authority than Pānini can be quoted, that *sūtra*—when used

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the literal one, it is mentioned, too, as a masculine and neuter in the Gana to II 4, 31 —It is necessary for me to observe, that in the quotations from Pānini I always distinguish between the text of the Sutra, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana,—and those alone can be held to be Kātyāyana's Vārttikas which appear in the Mahābhāshya,—Patañjali's Commentary, the Vārttikas found in the Kāsikā and in the Siddhāntakaumudi, and these latter works The importance of this distinction requires no remark, since all conclusions must become unsafe if the observations or instances of one writer are given as evidence for or against another, especially before it has been decided whether, for instance, Pānini and Kātyāyana were contemporaries or not I regret that Professor Müller has paid little attention to this circumstance, for he has frequently confounded the Commentaries, even the latest, with the text of the Sūtras of Pānini, and the very circumstance that he has sometimes pointed out the commentary as distinct from the text, and *vice versā*, creates still more confusion where he has omitted to do so Thus, he quotes correctly (p 44, note 2), VIII 3, 95 (*text*)' or, 'IV 1, 176 (*text*)' or, (p 46, in the same note), 'VI 3, 98 (*text*),' and I admit that an *attentive* reader will conclude that the quotations not marked *text*' are taken from the commentary, yet, 'VI 3, 75,' is not commentary but text And what does the word 'commentary' mean ? Patañjali, Kāsikā Siddh -k , or the Calcutta Pandits ? Again, when he says (p 69, n 1) 'It is remarkable that, in Pānini also, the word *sloka* is always used in opposition to Vedic literature,' not one of his quotations given to prove this important point, viz, IV 2, 66, 'IV 3, 102, 1 IV 3, 107, 'II 4, 21,' belongs to Pānini, but the two former to Patañjali and the two latter to the Kāsikā On p 347, n , the *Saulabhāni Brāhmanāni* are attributed by him to Pānini himself, but Pānini says nothing about them The instances to the quotations of page 361, n 3, ('IV 2, 101, IV 2, 64'), and those to n 4 (IV 3, 108), belong to the Kāsikā,—none to Pānini Nearly all the instances referred to p 364, n 3 belong to Patañjali and p 369, nn , where *com*' and *text*' are contradistinguished, 'VI 2, 10' is not Pānini P 370, n 10, 'IV 3, 104, ought to have been marked com , and a similar confusion exists, pp 362, 371, 521, 522, etc while, on the other hand, the *commentary* is correctly quoted in most of the instances of p 184, 185, 193, 252, 330, 339, 353, 357,

in the sense of a single rule —is *pars pro toto*, and that its ori-

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though without any mention whether the commentary of Patañjali, or of the Kāśikā, etc, be meant The *text* is marked correctly, pp 125, n 2, 310, 368, n 1 (IV 3, 128), 5, 369, n 1 3, 371, n 2, 6, 372, n 2, 8, 373, n 3, and the *gaṇas* correctly, p 369, n 6, 370, n 7, 8, 9, 10, 372, n 8, 373, n 8 —I do not altogether think that this want of accuracy, in a writer like Professor Muller, is entirely the result of oversight, it seems to me, on the contrary that the reason for it lies in the words of his note to p 46 —'It was impossible to teach or to use Pānini s Sūtras without examples, which necessarily formed part of the traditional grammatical literature long before the great Commentary was written, and are therefore of a much higher historical value than is commonly supposed The coincidences between the examples used in the Prātiśākhyas and in Pānini, show that these examples were by no means selected at random but that they had long formed part of the traditional teaching " This coincidence to be of that value which is described in the words quoted, would require first the proof that the Prātiśākhyas, viz the existing ones of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana, are *older* than Pānini, otherwise, it ceases to be of any consequence, as regards Pānini As to his statemant in general however, I must observe, that it can surely not be received as authoritative in the absence of all proof I must myself on the contrary, quite demur to its admissibility The coincidences, in the first place, between the instances of the existing Prātiśākhyas and those in the Commentaries of Pānini, considering the great bulk of the latter, are perfectly trifling Again, as to the other instances, about 2000 Sūtras of Pānini are not criticised by Kātyāyana, nor commented upon by Patañjali with regard to the instances, therefore, in this considerable number of rules, our oldest authority is nearly always the Kāśikā, the infallibility of which Commentary I have had, sometimes, reason to doubt Scarcely any instances of this category can be traced to the Prātiśākhyas, and, unless it can be proved by Muller that these instances belong to *antiquity*, I do not consider it at all safe to found any conclusions on them, *as regards antiquity* But on no account can it be consistent with critical research to use even the instances of Patañjali as evidence for or against the Vārttikas, and much less for or against the Sutras of Pānini, since Kātyāyana *never* gives *instances*, but, like Pānini himself, either lays down a general rule, or specifies the words which are the subject of his rule

ginal sense is that of a whole collection of rules [22] If such be the case the question arises, whether it is the figure implied by Muller's rendering 'strings of rules' that has led to the *sūtra* being used in the sense of 'book', or not As, I believe, I am able to show that Pānini was perfectly well acquainted with the art of writing, and that written books had even existed long before his time, my own opinion is, that the name for book was, as in the case of *patala* and *kānda*, borrowed rather from a material fact than from the metaphorical idea of the logical connection of rules And here I appeal to evidence, and to the admission which will be made to me that there are peculiarities and habits in the life of nations, which may be supposed to have existed at the earliest times such as we see them now Everyone who has studied Sanskrit MSS in the libraries of London and Paris, will have found that the oldest specimens of these MSS are written on palm leaves, which are pierced in the middle, and kept together by means of a 'string' The naturalness of the material of these MSS, and the primitive manner in which they are bound,—if we can use the term 'binding,' for a parcel of leaves, covered on both sides with oblong pieces of wood, and kept together by a *string* which runs through the middle, — bespeak, in my opinion, the habits of high antiquity, religiously preserved up to a recent date by a nation which, beyond all other nations, is wont to cherish its antiquity, and to defend it, even in practical life,

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22 Compare also the following passage of the Mahābhāshya (ed Pallantyne, p 68) Patañjali अथ व्याकरणमित्यस्य शब्दस्य कः पदार्थः । सूत्रम् । Kātyāyana । सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्नः । Patañjali सूत्रे व्याकरणे षष्ठ्यर्थो नोपपद्यते व्याकरणस्य सूत्रमिति । किं तदन्यत्सूत्राद्व्याकरणम् । यस्यादः सूत्रं स्यात्, Kaiyyata षष्ठ्यर्थ इति । द्वाभ्यामपि शब्दाभ्यामष्टाध्याय्याः प्रतिपादनाद्भेदाभावः । सामान्यविशेषशब्दतया तु द्वयोः प्रयोगो न विरुध्यते । यदा त्वष्टाध्याय्येकदेशः सूत्रशब्देनोच्यते तदा षष्ठ्यर्थोऽप्युपपद्यते, Nagojibh ननु सूत्रसमुदायस्य व्याकरणस्येदं सूत्रमित्युपपद्यतेऽत आह । द्वाभ्यामिति । सूत्रपदेनाप्यष्टाध्याय्येव यदोच्यते तदा षष्ठ्यर्थस्य प्रयोगः स न सिध्येदित्यर्थः । ननु किमुच्यते षष्ठ्यर्थोऽनुपपन्न इति पर्यायतया सहप्रयोगोऽपि न स्यादत आह । सामान्यविशेषेति । सूत्रं सामान्यं व्याकरणं विशेषः । सूत्रशब्देनाष्टाध्याय्येव । तदेकदेशे तु योगोऽव्यवहारः एव योगे योगे उपतिष्ठत इत्यादौ । यदा त्विति । सूत्राणि चाप्यधीयान इति भाष्ये वक्ष्यमाणत्वादिति भावः । वस्तुत एकदेशस्य सूत्रत्वेऽपि तस्यापि साक्षात्परम्परया वा व्याकरणत्वात् षष्ठ्यर्थानुपपत्तिरेवेति तत्त्वम् ।

against the intrusions of modern arts The MSS I have seen are certainly not more than a few centuries old, as may be easily inferred from the fragility of the material of which they are composed, but I hold them to be genuine specimens of the manner in which books were formed at the earliest periods of the civilisation of India No one, however, ought, I should conceive, to be less surprised at seeing the word 'string' becoming the name of 'book,' than a German who would call his own book *Band*' translating, as it were, literally, the Sanskrit *sūtra*, and having recourse to the same figure of speech

Since I contrast, in these remarks, opinion with opinion,—not claiming any greater value for mine than that which may be permitted to the impressions and views of the individual mind,—I will not conceal that I hold the very nature of the works called 'Sūtra,' to have arisen from, and depended on, the material which was kept together by the 'string' I cannot consider it plausible that these works —"written, as they are, in the most artificial, elaborate, and enigmatical form,"—which have been so well defined and described in Muller's work (p 71, ff),—in which, to use his words, "shortness is the great object of this style of composition, '—should have been composed merely for the sake of being easily committed to memory "To introduce and to maintain such a species of literature," argues Muller (p 74), "was only possible with the Indian system of education, which consisted in little else except implanting these *Sūtras* and other works into the tender memory of children, and afterwards explaining them by commentaries and glosses' But, though I do not dispute that these *Sūtras* were learnt, and are learnt, by heart up to this day, this circumstance alone does not explain why the matter thus to be inculcated must have been written in such a manner 'that an author rejoiceth in the economising of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son, why, 'every doctrine thus propounded, whether grammar, metre, law, or philosophy,' must have become 'reduced to a mere skeleton' Muller himself says (p 501),—and I fully concur with him,—that we can form no opinion of the powers of memory in a state of society so different from ours as the Indian Parishads are from our universities Feats of

memory, such as we hear of now and then, show that our notions of the limits of that faculty are quite arbitrary" And, as he himself produces proof that the three Vedas and their Brāhmanas *were* learnt by heart, it does not appear at all likely that the peculiar enigmatic form of this Sūtra literature was invented simply to suit the convenience of a memory the capacities of which must have been extraordinary

The reason which accounts for this form is, in my opinion, of a far more prosaic kind I hold that it is the awkwardness, the fragility, and, in some parts of India, perhaps the scarcity of proper natural leaves, which imposed upon an author the happy restraint of 'economising half a short vowel,' that the scantiness of the writing material compelled authors to be very concise, and betrayed them, as a consequence, into becoming obscure

Vaidika hymns and sacrificial Brāhmanas stand, clearly, under a different predicament to works on grammar or philosophy A god cannot be invited with *anubandhas* to partake of the sacrificial meal, nor the religious feelings of a nation be roused with hard and unintelligible phraseology, but the purpose of a grammar may be attained, if there be need to save space, by an artificial method, and a philosophical doctrine may be propounded in riddles, as we can testify in our own days I draw here, of course, a line between genuine and artificial Sūtras,—the former, in my opinion, a creation of material necessity, the latter, a mere imitation when this necessity had ceased The Sūtras of Pānini, in their dignified brevity, and the Sūtras of the Buddhists, in their tedious prolixity, are, probably, the two opposite poles,[23] but it requires,

23 The lamented Burnouf has given a description of these Sutras, in his invaluable work on the 'Buddhisme Indien, p 36, ff He particularly points out,—and the fact is important,—that amongst these caricatures of the Brāhmanic Sutras, there are several which have the enigmatic brevity of the latter, he distinguishes, therefore, between Sutras which may be attributed to Sākyamuni, and Sūtras which belong to subsequent periods See 'Introduction a l' Historical du Buddhisme Indien,' p 104, ff

I conceive, no great effort to see that there is a gap, even between Pānini and the Yoga-Sūtras, nay, between him and the Mīmānsā and Vedānta-Sūtras as well as the Nyāya Sūtras and the Sānkhya-Pravacana

Turning now to the second word I have mentioned above, with the word Sūtra, I will say at once, that *grantha* likewise appears to me to have become the name of a book, not on account of the connection which exists between the different part of a literary composition, but on account of the connection of the leaves which form its bulk Prof Weber, who makes Pānini live about 140 years after Christ,[24] but who, nevertheless, is favourable to the view I take of Pānini's acquaintance with writing, says in the "Indische Studien," vol iv p 89, that "the word *grantha* which is several times used by Pānini, refers according to its etymology, decidedly to written texts," yet he informs us (p 436), that "the word *grantha* is referred by Böhtlingk-Roth to the *composition*" Whether the latter remark is made "*pūjārtham* or whether this author,—according to his habit of leaving the reader to make his own choice amongst a variety of conflicting opinions,—intended to establish a *vibhāshā*,[25] or whether he has altered his original view is more than I can decide, since he has neither supported his first opinion with any explanatory remark, nor expressed adhesion or dissent when he concluded his fourth volume of the "Indische Studien "[26]

That *grantha*, according to its etymology, *may* mean "a literary composition," and that it has been used in that

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24 "Akademische Vorlesungen uber Indische Literaturgeschichte' p 200, 202

25 Such is really the case in the "Indische Literaturgeschichte,' p 183, note

26 Should I have overlooked any observation of his on this word, it would be quite unintentional, since I have been guided in my quotations by the excellent indices he has appended to his volumes All I mean to convey is, that the only justification he gives for the sense, 'written work,' of *grantha*, viz , the etymology of the word, does not appear to be a sufficient one, since Muller is certainly right when he remarks (p 522), that *granth*, nectere, serere, might be taken also in a figurative sense

sense, is undeniable, yet I contend that it did not bear this metaphorical sense before it was used in the literal meaning of "a series of leaves" or, in other words, before it designated a written book Previously to supporting this opinion with other arguments than those which are implied in my remarks on *sūtra,* I consider it necessary to remove the suspicion which has been thrown by Muller on this legitimate word He quotes the four Sūtras in Pānini where it occurs[27], but

27 Compare also, IV 3, 101, v 2, 105, v 2, the Kāsikā on V 1, 10, v 1 सौदेयो ग्रन्थ , on IV 2, 62, वाध्यागसदृशो ग्रन्थोऽनुब्राह्मणम् , on IV 2, 63 यमसभचरितो ग्रन्था वसन्त इत्युच्यते, on III 1, 89, v 1, (a Vārttika of the Bhāradvājīyas, according to Patañjali) ग्रन्थते ग्रन्थ , on VII 3, 4 स्वरमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थ सौवरो ग्रन्थ — Of one of the Sūtras he quotes, viz I 3, 75, Muller observes, (p 522) that it is used there "so as to apply to the *Veda* ' This remark concerns the commentator, but not Pānini, who, as he correctly states, a few lines afterwards, uses *grantha* as "opposed to a traditional work" I do not believe that the commentator is absolutely wrong, as will appear from my subsequent remarks, but I think that he might have chosen a better instance By commentary, however, I do not understand Patañjali's Bhāshya, which has no remark on this Sūtra, nor the Kāsikā, which has the counterinstance, उपचरति चिकित्सां वैद्य , the first trace of this instance I find in the Siddh k (fol 167 a),—uncorrected in the Praudha-manoramā,—when, it has crept into more recent books, *e g,* the abridged Commentary of Nāgoji on Pānini's Sūtras This instance, one of many, will corroborate my statement in note 21, that the compilation of the Calcutta Pandits,—however meritorious, and superior to its mutilated and unauthorised reprint,—so far from admitting of being identified with Pānini himself, ought not to be used as evidence for or against Pānini, without a knowledge of the source whence it has derived its instances

I feel grieved that I cannot leave this note without destroying one of the most poetical illusions of Professor Weber, connected with this word *grantha* From the stream of imaginary narrative which meanders through the desert of his 'Literaturgeschichte,' emerges, *à propos* of the Rāmāyana (p 182), the remark, that this masterpiece of Hindu poetry was probably preceded by some other epic works To prove that which cannot be proved without a knowledge of the date of the Rāmāyana,

remarks in the note of p 45, "The word *grantha*, used in the Sūtra (IV 3, 87) is always somewhat suspicious" The reason for this sweeping doubt is contained, I suppose, in the words which immediately follow "That some of the Sūtras which now form part of Pānini's Grammar, did not proceed from him, is acknowledged by Kaiyyata (*cf* IV 3 131, 132), and in the first note of p 361, where he writes, "Pān, IV 3, 116, कृते ग्रंथे ॥ Kaiyyata says that this *Sūtra* does not belong to Pānini" That there are *three* perhaps *four Sūtras* in Pānini's Grammar, which probably did not belong to his work originally, I will concede,[28] but amongst these three or four Sūtras out

which we have not,—and without a knowledge of those epic poems, which likewise we have not,—but which is plausible enough without any proof, he quotes Pānini s Sūtra, V 3, 88, which treats on the titles of some *granthas* Among these *granthas* (which are, to his imagination, epic poems), is one called *Śisukrandīya*, which therefore is, to him, a forerunner of the Rāmāyana The same ingenious conjecture occurs in his 'Indische Studien, vol i p 155, where he grows somewhat indignant at Wilson, who, in his Dictionary, renders this term "a work treating of infantine or juvenile grievances, for he adorns Wilson, for this rendering, with a query and note of admiration ("Wilson dict ?!") Now, whether *sisukrandīya* ought to have been, by right, the title of an epic poem (in the same manner as we learn, from another work what the words in the Vedas *ought* to have meant, if they had profited by the last results of Sanskrit and comparative philology), I am unable to say Nevertheless, I believe that Wilson is right, for the *Kāsikā* explains this word, शिशूनां क्रन्दन शिशुक्रन्दन तमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थ शिशुक्रन्दीय, and the *Ganaratna mahodadhi* has even an additional remark शिशवो बालास्तेष क्रन्दनमधिकृत्य कृतो ग्रन्थ शिशुक्रन्दीय । बालपुस्तकम् —It is, in other terms, 'a book for children, written with reference to their cries,'—a kind of nursery book for naughty babies

28 Dr Otto Boehtlingk was the first who drew attention to this *fact, in the volume which he has* annexed to his garbled and unauthorised reprint of the meritorious labour of the Calcutta editors of Pānini In a note of p xx of his Preface, he enumerates *seven* Sūtras, which, according to him, "were originally Vārttikas, and only at a later time became embodied into the text of Pānini," viz, "IV 1, 166, 167, IV 3, 132, V 1, 36 VI 1, 62, 100, 136' It certainly raises a strong

of 3996, there is no Sūtra containing the word *grantha*, for I believe Muller was mistaken when he says that Kaiyyaṭa

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doubt as to the authenticity of a Sūtra, if it occurs also as a Vārttika of Kātyāyana but I hold the indispensable conditions for confirming such a doubt to be — 1 that the Vārttika must really belong to Kātyāyana 2 that the wording of the Vārttika must be *identical* with that of the doubted Sūtra, and 3 that both must have the *same tendency* In the first place, however, we are entitled to consider as Vārttikas of Kātyāyana only such as occur in, and,—what is invariably then the case,—are commented upon by, the Bhāshya of Patañjali Vārttikas found in the Kāśikā or Siddhāntakaumudī, but not in the Bhāshya, may be, and *evidently* are in many instances, the critical additions of later times They afford no basis for doubting the genuineness of a Sūtra in Pāṇini, nor is a mere remark of Kaiyyaṭa, the commentator of Patañjali, that 'some' consider a Sūtra as having been a Vārttika, sufficient to cancel the Sutra from amongst the original rules Secondly, if a Vārttika is not worded in the same manner as the Sutra,—excepting of course, the the usual addition of Kātyāyana, इति वक्तव्यम् —the mere similarity of both is no sufficient ground for doubting the originality of the Sutra, for the difference in the wording of the Vārttika may have as it *very frequently* has, the mere object of criticising the manner in which Pāṇini delivered his rule Lastly, if the Vārttika and Sūtra are identical in words, but not in tendency, there is not the slightest ground for doubting the authenticity of the Sutra, though Kaiyyata may historically record that 'some have preferred to 'throw it among the Vārttikas' In applying these tests to the enumeration given by Dr Boehtlingk, we find, that IV 1, 166, does *not* occur literally in the Vārttika 3 of IV 1, 163, for, though the Calcutta editors write वृद्धस्य च पू-यायाम्, and append their mark, that it occurs in the Siddh k (the printed edition of this work contains on p 66*a*, line 1, the words वृद्धस्य च पूजायामिति वाच्यम्),—the wording of this Vārttika, in the Bhāshya is (MS, E I H, 330), वृद्धस्य च पूजाया युवसंज्ञा वक्तव्यम * (probably युवसंज्ञेति वक्तव्यम्), but even if the additional words belong, as is possible, not to the Vārttika, but to the Bhāshya, it is clear that the tendency of the Vārttika and that of the Sūtra are not identical, for, in the Vārttika, the rule is *absolute*, while in the Sūtra, IV 1, 166, it is *optional*, through the *anuvṛtti*

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* Benaras Edn reads वक्तव्याः ।

acknowledges that the Sūtra IV 3, 116 did not belong to Pānini, I have not been able to discover anywhere, in the Mahābhāshya, either by the aid of my memory or my indices, that Kaiyyata expresses any opinion whatever on this Sūtra, but even should the mistake be mine, there would be little impor-

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of the preceding वा IV 1, 165 Therefore, Patañjali comments on the Vārttika in question, तत्रमवत्तो गार्ग्यायणा । तत्रमव ता वात्स्यायना without the option recorded by the Kāsikā on IV 1, 166, in the instances, तत्रमवान्गार्ग्यायणो गार्ग्यो वा । वात्स्यायनो वात्स्यो वा । दाक्षायणो दाक्षिर्वा —A similar negative conclusion applies to IV 1, 167 The Vārttika mentioned by the Calcutta editors, to IV 1, 162, does *not* occur in the Bhāshya, it is *not* identical, even in the Siddh-k, with the Sūtra, IV 1, 167, it has *not* the same tendency as the Sūtra, the latter being optional, the former absolute There is no ground, consequently, for doubting that the 'some of Kaiyyata, who maintain the antiquity of the Sūtra, are correct —IV 3, 132, is suspicious, for it occurs as a Vārttika in the Bhāshya to IV 3, 131, and fulfils the three above-named conditions, equally so V 1, 36, which is a Vārttika to V 1, 35, and VI 1, 62, which occurs as a Vārttika to VI 1 61 On the other hand, VI 1, 100 need not be rejected absolutely for its wording is not identical with that of the Vārttika of VI 1 99, nor is it clear that both *coincide* in tendency VI 1, 99, restricts the rule to the condition of the word इति following a combination like पटत्पटत्, VI 1,100, exempts a similar combination, if ending in त्, from this condition (comp V 4, 57) it would seem, therefore that the Vārttika to VI 1, 99, maintains the condition, but corrects the option वा by the word नित्यम् I *must admit* however, that Patañjali gives the instance पटपटायति, which would countenance the probability of this Sūtra, also, not being an original one Lastly, the Sūtra VI 1, 136, अडभ्यासव्यवायेऽपि neither occurs as a Vārttika in the Bhāshya, nor even as a Vārttika in the Kāsikā or the Siddh k, nor has its original existence, in fact, been doubted by anybody except Dr Boehtlingk, who write in his so-called Commentary (p 256), "This Sūtra has been interpolated at a later time, it owes its origin to the following two Vārttikas to the preceding Sutra, अड्व्यवाय उपसंख्यानम् ॥ १ ॥ अभ्यास व्यवाये च ॥ २ ॥ Compare Siddh k p 144*a* 'where, however, the reader will not find anything relating to the subject, while, on p 145*a* he will discover the Sūtra, IV 1, 136, such as it is in the Calcutta edition of Pānini That both Vārttikas are

tance in the mere doubt of Kaiyyaṭa, since Patañjali, when commenting on the Vārttikas to IV 3, 105, distinctly quotes twice the Sūtra IV 3, 116, which is a positive proof that it *existed at his time, and was genuine enough* [29]

I will now give an instance from the Mahābhārata, which, in my belief, would be perfectly unintelligible, if *grantha* were *taken only in the sense of 'composition,' and not also in that* of 'written book' or 'volume' I am met here, however, with an objection, viz, that I ought *first to show that the* Mahābhārata possesses the qualification which Muller has appended to his quoted remark, or, in other words, that it is a work of 'the early literature,' since he says that '*grantha* does not mean *pustaka*, or book, in the early literature,' while he admits that it has that sense in the later literature Both Muller and Weber agree that there was *a* Mahābhārata at the time of Āśvalāyana, since they quote a passage from his Gṛhya-Sūtra, where the name occurs (Muller, p 42, Weber, 'Literaturgeschichte,' p 56), and neither denies that a work prior to Āśvalāyana would have a claim to be called a work of the earlier literature Both scholars however question,—and very rightly too,—the claim of the *present* Mahābhārata, to having been *that*

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a criticism of Kātyāyana, who clearly disapproved of the condensed wording of the Sutra 136, did not even occur to the mind of Dr Poehtlingk, but, considering the condition of his knowledge of Pānini, as displayed in this 'Commentary,' and even in his very last work, I cannot but express the belief that his 'αὐτὸς ἔφα' to strike out a Sūtra of Pānini, goes for very little indeed,— especially as it touches upon the sphere of reasoning

29 There is no Bhāshya on IV 3,116, and, therefore, no commentary of Kaiyyata on this Sutra On the Vārttika 2, to IV 3, 105, कृते ग्रन्थे मक्षिकादिभ्योऽण which is a criticism on Pānini IV 3, 116, on account of the addition, मक्षिकादिभ्योऽण्, and, therefore, a proof that the latter Sūtra was originally existing, Patañjali says कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यत्र (i e, IV 3, 116) मक्षिकादिभ्योऽण वक्तव्य । मक्षिकाभि कृत माक्षिकम्, and on a third Vārttika योगविभागात्सिद्धम् which is not printed in the Calcutta edition, he observes योगविभाग करिष्यते । कृते ग्रन्थे (IV 3, 116) ततः संज्ञायाम् (IV 3, 117) न कृत इ येनस्मिन्नर्थे यथाविहित प्रत्ययो भवति ।

Mahābhārata which is quoted by Āśvalāyana It is, of course, impossible for me to treat here, as it were incidentally, not merely of the question concerning the age of the Mahābhārata, but the relative ages of the various portions of this work, since it must be evident to everyone who has read it, that it is, in its present shape, a collection of literary products belonging to widely distant periods of Hindu literature To do justice to a subject of this kind, I should have not merely to enter into details which would be here out of place, but to discuss the prior important question, as to how far the printed text in which this colossal epos is generally known to us, may be relied upon, and I should feel all the more bound to do so, as my collations of considerable portions of this text with the best MSS, in this country and abroad, fully convince me that it is neither advisable to make a translation of the Mahābhārata,—a labour which, if done once, should be done once for all,—nor to found a detailed criticism of the several portions of this work, on the printed text, however much I admire the industry, patience, and scholarship, of those who have accomplished the task of laying before us a first edition of this enormous work Without their labours, it would have been still more difficult than it now is, to perceive the defects of the MSS, but this tribute, which I gladly pay to their merits, does not dispense with my expressing the conviction, derived from my own labours, that no conclusion founded on special passages of the present text, is safe, before the differences of the MSS —sometimes great—are thoroughly sifted and discussed with the help of the Commentaries [30]

30 Weber ('Indische Studien,' I p 148) and Muller (pp 44, 45, note) give a valuable synopsis of the leading characters of the Mahābhārata, as they occur in the text and the commentaries of Pānini This synopsis, I conceive, must convince, even the most sceptic, that Pānini cannot have ignored the renown of these personages, nor consequently, it is probable, the real or poetical events on which the renown was founded It forms the subject matter of the Mahābhārata Some stress has been laid by both scholars on the circumstance, that the name Pāndu or Pāndava does not occur in the Grammar of Pānini (Weber, 'Indische Studien, p 148, Muller, p 44) but, since both have cons-

In proceeding now to give an instance which I hold to belong to the early (though not the earliest) portions of the Mahābhārata, I must submit, therefore, to having its validity acknowleged or rejected, according to the value the reader may attach to my opinion Not to be misunderstood, however, I will add that I consider it as posterior to Pānini But, as the date I shall assign hereafter to this grammarian will be older than the date originated by Dr Boehtlingk, the passage in question will still be entitled to rank among the earlier literature In the *Śāntiparvan* of the Mahābhārata we read [31] "Vasishtha spoke (to Janaka), 'The doctrines of the Vedas and the (philosophical) Śāstras which thou hast uttered, are rightly uttered by thee, but thou understandest them not, for the text (*grantha*) of the Vedas and Śāstras is possessed by

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tructed their list as well from the Ganas and commentaries as from the Sūtras, it will not be amiss to add, that *Pāndava* occurs in Kaiyyata s gloss on Patañjali to IV 1, 168, v 4, and in the Kāsikā on IV 1, 171, when the observation of the former implies, what I pointed at in a former remark, that the word Pāndu does not occur in the Vārttika, as the name of Yudhishthira's father, because the word Pāndava is too common a derivation to require a grammatical rule, Vārttika, पाण्डोर्ड्यण् वक्तव्य —Patañjali, पाण्डव —Kaiyyata पाण्डोरिति । वाह्वादिप्रभृतिषु (IV 1,96, etc) येषां दर्शनं लौकिके गोत्रमात्र इति (words of Patañjali on a previous Vārttika) वचनात्सिद्धिरानिपितु पाण्डोरग्रहणादाशिन । पाण्डव इत्येव भवति—Kāsikā on the same Vārttika (differently worded, quoted in the Calcutta edition, under the Sutra IV 1, 168, in the MSS under IV 1 171), पा ण्ड्य । अन्यस्मात्पाण्डव एव The word वाण्टवेय occurs in the Kāsikā on the Gana IV 1, 123

31 V 11339—11342 (the corrections are founded on the com and MSS) यदेतदुक्त भवता वेदशास्त्रनिदर्शनम् ।
एवमेतद्यथा चैतत्र गृह्णाति (for चैतन्निगृ०) तथा भवान ॥
धार्यते हि त्वया ग्रन्थ उभयोर्वेदशास्त्रयो ।
न च ग्रन्थस्य तत्त्वज्ञो यथावत्त्व (for यथा च त्व) नरेश्वर ।
यो हि वेद च शास्त्रे च ग्रन्थधारणतत्पर ।
न च ग्रन्थार्थतत्त्वज्ञस्तस्य तद्धारण वृथा ॥
भार स वहते तस्य ग्रन्थस्यार्थं न वेत्ति य ।
यस्तु ग्रन्थार्थतत्त्वज्ञो नास्य ग्रथागमो वृथा ॥

thee, yet king, thou dost not know the real sense of the text (*grantha*) according to its truth, for he who is merely bent upon possessing the text (*grantha*) of the Veda and Śāstra, but does not understand the real sense of the text, his possession of them is an idle one, he carries *the weight of the book* (*grantha*) who does not know the sense of it, but he who knows the real sense of the text (*grantha*), his is not an idle acquisition of the text' ' In this instance, *grantha* is used in its double sense, composition or text, and *book*, for there can be no doubt that in the passage, *Bhāram sa vahate tasya granthasya*,' 'he carries the weight of the *grantha*, the last word can only refer to the material bulk of the book

I will conclude my observations on this word with a remark on the phrase, *granthato rthascha*, which must undoubtedly be rendered in the sense proposed by Muller, 'according to the text and according to the meaning ' An analogous contrast, exactly in the same sense, is that of *kānda* and *padārtha* which is of frequent occurrence in Mīmānsā writers [32] That, in the latter case, the meaning 'text' is a secondary one of *kānda* no one will dispute, since there is nothing in this word which points to 'composition ' It must be allowable therefore to conceive, that its synonyme *grantha* may, through the same mental process as *kānda* have assumed the secondary meaning of 'text

There is another important word which Muller will not admit as evidence of Pānini's having had a knowledge of writing,—for it is used by this grammarian,—the word *varna* But the only reason he gives for invalidating its testimony is that this word which, etymologically and otherwise, really means *'colour* —when having the sense of letter 'does not mean colour in the sense of a painted letter, but the colouring or modulation of the voice (p 507) In the absence of any proof for this assertion, he adds, in a note 'Aristotle, Probl x 39 *τα δε γραμματα παθη εστι της φωνης* In this

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32 *E g* in Mādhava's Jaiminīya-nyāya-mālā-vistara, where काण्डानुसमय is contrasted with पदार्थानुसमय, for instance, V 2, 1, , 3, 4, 5, 6, , etc etc

respect he coincides, for once, with Weber, not merely in the point at issue, but also in the remarkable brevity of his argument For all that Weber says on the subject ('Indische Studien,' iv 109) is 'The name *varna* is probably (*wohl*) to be understood of the 'colouring,' specializing (*specialisirung*) of the sound, compare *rakta*, which is employed in the Rkprātiśākhya in the sense of 'nasalised' (*nasalirt*) With *writing* it has nothing to do' Now, I confess, that I always become somewhat suspicious when I meet with a definition which prefers the language of similes to plain prose How, I must ask, for instance, does the figure of colouring apply to the notion of specialising? It is striking, moreover, that Weber, who starts with a *probability* in two lines reaches a positive certainty, founded only on the analogy of *rakta* And, in turning again to Muller's words, I must, in the first place, ask, what does an analogy taken from Aristotle prove for the Sanskrit word? But, supposing it could prove anything, would it not be more plausible to make use of it in favour of the contrary conclusion to that which Muller has drawn? Aristotle speaks of γράμματα, which word applies originally to none but *written* signs, and if *he* may apply γράμμα to the voice, might not the same liberty be claimed for a Sanskrit word meaning a written letter? Again, the notion of 'colouring,' itself supposes necessarily a condition which may be called *indifferent* or *colourless* green, blue, red, are colours, because there is an indifferent condition, called white A coloured sound is not intelligible, except on the supposition that there is also an indifferent, or uncoloured sound Hence we speak, for instance, in modern terminology, of *i*, *u* *r* *e* *o* etc, as coloured vowels, because we contrast them with the fundamental uncoloured vowel *a* But I shall show that *varna* is applied indifferently to all vowels, inclusive of *a*

I do not dispute that *varna* is used like γράμμα, 'letter,' *also* for the spoken letter,[33] but I hold that there is strong evidence to prove that its primitive sense is that of *written*

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[33] Thus Nāgojibhatta explains, in the commencement of the Vivarana, नादो वर्ण, or Kaiyyata says घोषवन्तो ये वर्णा etc

letter, as arising naturally from its primitive sense 'colour,' and that the appearance of this word in Pāṇini or other authors, may serve as one of many arguments that they practised the art of writing. To make good this statement I must advert to another word which may also mean letter, and in this sense is always the latter part of a compound, the former of which is the letter itself designated by it, viz., the word *kāra*, e.g. *a-kāra*, the letter *a*; *i-kāra*, the letter *i*, etc. It corresponds with *varna*, in the synonymous expressions, *a-varna*, *i-varna*, etc. Kātyāyana looks upon it in the light of an affix, probably on account of its being always compounded with the letter itself, and Kaiyyata enlarges upon the expression *varna* in saying that this word means in the Vārttika quoted, 'that which expresses a *varna* or adequately realizes a *varna* (i.e., is the adequate value of a *varna*).' He, therefore, like Kātyāyana, contrasts the purport of *kāra* and *varna*, though *a-kāra* and *a-varna*, *i-kāra* and *i-varna* may appear to be,— and we shall see from what reason,— convertible terms.[34] To understand, however, this contrast, and the use of two other terms which I shall have to name, I will first give instances from Pāṇini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and the Bhāshya, which will illustrate the manner in which these grammarians have used both terms.

We find *a-kāra*, Śivas. 1, v. 1 (omitted in the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini), II. 4, 30, v. 4,, IV. 4, 128, v. 2, III. 3, 108, v. 3, P.,—*ā-kāra* Śivas. 1, v. 1 (om. Calc. ed.), I. 1, v. 4,

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34 Vārttika 3, III. 3, 108: वर्णात्कारः, Patañjali—वर्णात्कारप्रत्ययो वक्तव्यः । अकारः इकारः, Kaiyyata—वर्णादिति वर्णवाचिनो वर्णानुकरणादित्यर्थः । बहुलग्रहणात्क्वचिन्न भवति । अस्य च्वाविति (VII. 4, 32) यथा न्यायः क्वचिद्वर्णमनुदश्या नुकरणादपि एवकार इति. To remove the apparent strangeness of the manner in which I have rendered अनुकरण which usually means "imitating, doing in conformity with," I subjoin two other instances from Kaiyyata, where the same word is also used by him in the sense of "adequate, or real value." Kātyāyana having given this derivation of अक्षर, 'अश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्,' and Patañjali having added अश्नोतेर्वा पुनरयमौणादिकः सरन्प्रत्ययः, Kaiyyata observes अश्नोतेर्वेति । सरन्प्रत्ययस्यानुबन्धलोपे कृतेऽनुकरणं सर इति etc., or सर्वेषामकाराणां यत्सामान्यं तदनुकरणमकारः ।

I 1, 56, v 11, III 1, 8, P, VI 1, 87, kār 2 P,—*i-kāra*, III 3, 108, v 3, P, IV 4, 128, v 2,—*i-kāra* VII 1, 39, v 3, VIII 2, 15, v 1 P,—*u-kāra* VI 1, 185, par 1 P,—*ṛ-kāra*, P on Śivas 2 and Vārtt (om in the Calc ed), I 1, 9, v 2, VI 1, 101, v 1 P, VIII 4, 1, v 1, *ṝ-kāra* VI 1, 87, v 1 (om Calc ed), *lṛ-kārā*, P on Śivas 2, Śivas 4, v 5, (om Calc ed), I 1, 9, v 2, VI 1, 101, v 2, P,—*e-kāra* P on a Vārtta to Śivas 3 (om Calc ed), IV 3, 23, v 6,—*o-kāra*, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 3 (om Calc ed), V 3, 72, v 1, VII 2, 1 v 1, 2, 3, VIII 3, 20, v 1,—*au-kāra*, VIII 2, 89, P,—*ka-kāra*, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 4, 5 (om Calc ed), VII 3, 44, v 1 P,—*na-kāra*, I 3, 12, v 1 P,—*cha-kāra* P on III 1, 8,—*jha-kāra*, and *ña-kāra*, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 8 (om Calc ed),—*na kāra* P on a Vārtt to Śivas 6 (om Calc ed), VI 1, 1, v 10, VI 4, 120, v 1, VIII 3, 55, v 1 P—*ta-kāra*, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 4 (om Calc ed), VII 2, 48, v 1,—*tha-kāra*, P on VII, 4 46 *da-kāra* and *pa-kāra* P on a Vārtt to Śivas 4,—*dha kāra*, VIII 3 78, v 1, P and v 3,—*na-kāra*, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 2,—*bha-kāra* P on a Vārtt to Śivas 8 (om Calc ed), V 3 72, v 1, —*ma-kāra* P on a Vārtt to Śivas 7,—*ya-kāra* P on a Vārtt to Śivas 6,—*la-kāra*, I 3, 3, v 2,—*va-kāra*, P on a Vārtt to Śivas 5,—*sa kāra* P on a Vārtt to Śivas 5,—*sha-kāra* VI 1, 1, v 10,—*sa-kāra* V 3, 72, v 1, —*ha-kāra* P on a Vārtt to Śivas 5 (all these Vārtt to the Śivas om in the Calc ed)

On the other hand *a-varna*, P on a Vārtt to Śivas I (om Calc ed), IV 1, 1, v 3, VI 3, 97, v, (not of K, but mentioned in P), VIII 3, 64, v 3 VIII 1, 82, v 2, and in the *Sūtras* VI 1, 182, VI 2, 90, VI 3 112,—*i-varna* P on a Vārtt to the Śivas 1 and 3 (om Calc ed), VII 2, 10 P, VIII 2, 106, v 1 P, Sūtra VII 4, 53, *u-varna* P on a Vārtt to Śivas I (om Calc ed), V 3 83, v 5 and Kār I, VII 2, 10 P, VIII 2, 106, v 1 P,—*varna y* (or *y-varna*) Sūtra VII 4, 53 [35]

35 The instances quoted are restricted, as I have stated, to the Sūtras of Pānini, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, as they occur in the Bhāshya

The foregoing combinations of a letter of the alphabet with *kāra* and *varna* are, I believe, all that occur in the grammarians named, and they show at once, that *kāra* enters into composition with all vowels and all consonants, provided the latter are *followed by the letter a*—(for it may be assumed without risk that the absence of some combinations, such as *kha-kāra gha-kāra* etc is merely a matter of chance, not of necessity, compare the additional instances of the note 35)—while *varna* is joined merely to vowels and to such consonants as are *without a vowel sound*[36] (*cf* Sūtra, VII 4, 53)

This circumstance is significant, but at once intelligible, if we draw a distinction between a spoken sound and a written letter To sound a consonant (*k, t, p,* etc) we

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of Patañjali, and to the latter, (marked P) Some of the above named Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, "Kās," or "Siddh-k," but they occur, too, in the Bhāshya These instances might have been multiplied, and had it been necessary to add quotations from the Kāsikā, Siddh k, or the words of the Calcutta editors f i by *r-kāra* VI 1, 91, Kāsikā, Kaiyyata on Sivas 5 —*tha-kāra*, VIII 3, 7, Kāsikā, VIII 3, 34, Kāsikā, VIII 4, 54, Kāsikā,—*dha kāra*, VIII 3, 55, Kāsikā —*tha-kāra*, I 2, 23 Kāsikā, VIII 3, 7, Kāsikā, VIII 3 34, Kāsikā —*ra kāra*, VIII 2, 16, Kāsikā,—*pha-kāra*, I 2, 23, Kāsikā VIII 4 54, Kāsikā,—*sa-kāra* I 3, 8, Kāsikā,—or *r-varna* I 1, 9 v 1, Siddh-k, V 3, 83 v 5, Kasikā, (thus quoted in the Calcutta edition, but not met with in the MS 2441 of the E I H), VIII 4, 1, v 1, Kāsikā and Siddh-k,—*lt varna*, I 1, 9, v 1, Siddh k The very unusual *ra kāra* in the Commentary to VIII 2 16 (it occurs chiefly in mystical, not in grammatical, works, *e g* in the dialogue between Umā and Siva of the Rudrayāmala tantra), I must leave to the responsibility of the Calcutta editors, for the Bhāshya on the Vārttika does not speak of the letter *ra*, and the Kāsikā and Siddh k have, instead of *rakārāntāt*, the usual *rephāntāt* I have omitted, of course, to quote passages of the Sūtras, etc, where *varna* or *kāra* have other meanings than "letter"

36 Pānini never uses *varna* of a consonant followed by the vowel *a* but the late Kāsikā writes झम इत्येतौ वर्णौ, or घढध इत्येतान् वर्णान् or नवगादद इत्येता वर्णान्, if the MSS are to be trusted

must combine it with a vowel, in writing, we may omit that *vowel, and should omit it, unless it have its own peculiar* value the spoken *k* has a different value to the written *ka*, which means *k* and *a* Unless, therefore, Pānini intended, for instance, to give a rule on *y* and *a*, he could not employ a *term ya*, which *merely* refers to the spoken sound *y*, or, if he did so, he would have had to give a special rule to the effect that the sound *a* in this combination is mute or insignificant, as he has given various rules to a similar effect when he employs for his technical purposes *anubandhas* or letters without significance Now, such a rule on the suppression of vowels which appear in his grammar, but are not to be sounded when the word with which they are combined becomes a spoken word, is given by him (I 3 2), but for a distinct and *special* purpose, and not with the intent of *general* application, a vowel, such as it is treated in this rule, is (and ought to have been always edited with the appropriate sign) *anunāsika* Therefore, when Pānini gives a rule in which the vowel *a* is appended to a consonant, but valueless,—though the absence of its value would not follow from the rule quoted (1,3,2) or otherwise,—the commentators notice such an exceptional case as worthy of a special remark, and defend it in their fashion if they deem it advisable [37] In other words, expressions like *a-kāra i-kāra, u-kāra* etc, and *a-varna i-varna, u-varna*, etc, are equivalent, because the value of a *spoken vowel* coincides with that of the *written vowel-sign*, they admit of a doubt whether *kāra* or *varna*, or both or neither, apply to a written sign, but when we see that *sa-kāra bha-kāra, na-kāra sha-kāra ta-kāra*, etc, are portions of rules, in which not *sa bha, na sha, ta*, etc but *s, bh n sh t*, etc, are meant, we perceive at once that *kāra* must apply to the uttered sound On the other hand, when Pānini speaks (VII 4, 53) of two *varnas yi, i e* of a *varna y* and of a *varna i* we must conclude

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37 The Kāsikā e g, observes on the Śivasūtra लण् —हकारादिष्वकार स्वारणार्थो नानुबन्ध । लकारे त्वकारोऽनुनासिक स्तस्य प्रतिज्ञायते, or the Sūtra VII 1 25 अद्ड्ड० where the first अ is mute, is excused by Kātyāyana in this way सिद्ध त्वनुनासिकोपधात् ।

that *varna* did not apply to the spoken sound, but to the written sign, since the vowel would be unpronounceable

I will give some additional proof for this conclusion on the meaning of both these words In the foregoing remarks I rendered *kāra* in combination with *i u sa* etc 'letter,' since we use this word in its double acceptation, uttered sound and written sign If *kāra*, however, is the uttered sound, it will be a synonyme of *sabda*, and we find it therefore, *e g* in the comment of the Kāśikā, used as a convertible term with *sabda*[38] *This is never the case with varna*

Since an uttered sound may comprise more than *one* letter, we find *kāra* as Kaiyyata already remarks (compare note 34), equally applied to complicated sounds, *e g eva kāra* (III 4, 67, v 3 and 6, I 4, 8 Kāś , VI 2 80 P), and Pāṇini, who never uses it for expressing a simple letter-sound (because his terms are such as apply to a written book), applies it to the sound *vashat* in *vashat-kara* (I 2 35) *Varna is never used in a similar manner*

In this respect *kāra* coincides with the term *karaṇa*, which occurs in combinations quite analogous, *e g*, *iti-karana*, I 1, 44, v 1, P , IV 2, 21, v 2, P , *duk-karana*, VII 1, 25, v 3, *dit-karana*, VII 1, 25, v 4, 3, 118, v 6, *chut karana*, III 1, 8, v 4, P, or even combined with *kāra*, as *evakāra-karana*, VI 2, 80, Kāś , etc *Varna*, on the contrary, is used by Kātyāyana and Patañjali in the same manner as in Pāṇini s Sūtra which speaks of the *vārna y*, viz , of *unutterable consonantal sounds* which therefore must have been written signs Thus, a discussion is raised by Kātyāyana on the Sūtra VI 4, 49, which treats of the elision of *ya*, in reference to the question whether *ya* is to be dropped or merely *y* , and on this occasion he calls the

38 Pāṇini (VIII 2, 37) uses the expression सध्वो , which is rendered by the Kāśikā सकारे ध्वशब्दे च The word शब्द is used in a similar manner, *e g* in these combinations तिशब्द, VI 2, 81, Kāśikā (ति being there the last syllable of शिति) , तुशब्द, VI 2, 50, Kāśikā (तु being affix) , अद्डशब्द, VII 1, 25, v 4, P (अद् being the ending of pronouns in the neuter) , भ्यम्शब्द VII 1, 30, v 1, P (यम् being the declension ending)

former *sanghāta*, "combination," (viz, of *v* and *a*), and the latter *varna* In a Vārttika to VII 3, 50, a similar discussion is started on *tha*, again, *tha* is called there *sanghāta*, and the unpronounceable *th*, *varna* The same term *sanghāta* is applied to *ka* in a Vārttika to VII 3, 44, and *varna* to the vowelless *k*

The same sense of *varna* is conveyed by a definition of Patañjali concerning the term *upadesa*, which literally means demonstration, and then assumes the special sense of grammatical mode of denotating, or of grammatical appearance, and of the book in which such grammatical denotations occur [39] it means, for instance, the grammatical appearance of the radicals in the Dhātupātha, or the Dhātupātha itself, and, in like manner, the grammatical appearance of the letters in the Śiva sūtras, "the root of Pānini's Grammar," as Nāgojibhatta calls them For when Kātyāyana, in several introductory Vārttikas, enlarges on the purpose of the letters, as they occur in the

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39 Patañjali on the Sūtra I 3, 2 किं पुनरुपदेशनम् । शास्त्रम् । A Vārttika on I 3, 3 सिद्धं तु व्यवसितान्यत्वात्, on which Patañjali comments सिद्धमेतत् । कथम् । व्यवसितान्यत्वात् । व्यवसितान्यया इत्संज्ञो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् (Kātyāyana, says Patañjali, ought rather to have said व्य॰ भवति, these latter words of Patañjali have been mistaken by the Calcutta editors for the Vārttika itself, and they of course again make their appearance in the reprint of Dr Boehtlingk, who besides, and for the sake of greater clearness, adds "Ein Vārttika", and prints ॰त्व, as if he had looked into the Mahābhāshya and amended the "Vārttika" from the original work —Patañjali then continues) के पुनर्व्यवसिताः । धातुप्रातिपदिकप्रत्ययनिपातागमादेशाः — On account of the double sense of *upadesa*, "book, etc" and "grammatical appearance," Patañjali raises this question when speaking of the Sūtra VI 1, 45 कथमिदं विज्ञायते । एच उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदेजन्तं यदुपदेश इति, when Kaiyyata is still more explicit कथमिति । यदोपदेशशब्देन करणसाधनेन शास्त्रमुच्यते तदा विशेष्यस्यानुपादानादेव नास्ति तदन्तविधिरित्ययं पक्षो भवति एच उपदेश इति । यदा तु कर्मसाधन उपदेशशब्द उपदिश्यमानार्थवाची षष्ठ्यर्थे च सप्तमी तदोपदेशस्यैवाविशेषणात्तदन्तविधावित्ययं पक्षो भवति एजन्तं यदुपदेश इति —A similar question of Patañjali occurs in his com on VI 1, 186 अदुपदेशादिति कथमिदं विज्ञायते । अकारो य उपदेश इति । आहोस्विदकारान्तं यदुपदेश इति ।

Śivasūtras, Patañjali asks [40] "Now, what is *upadeśa*, or technical denotation? Pronunciation How is that? The radical *dis*, 'to show,' (whence *upa-desa* is derived) implies the act of pronouncing, for, after having pronounced the *varnas*, one may say, 'these *varnas* are *upadishta*, or technically denoted'" Patañjali distinguishes, therefore, between *varnas*, and *upadishta-varnas*, only the latter are, according to him, the pronounceable *varnas*, and it would have been useless for him to draw this distinction, if *varna* itself originally signified the spoken letter

What the *simple* consonantal sound is to the pronounceable consonant, the *simple* vowel is, in some measure, to the diphthong or combined vowel sound It is, perhaps, on this ground that, while we find a general name for vowel-letters, viz, *svara-varna* (IV 1, 3, v 7), the compounds *e-varna, o-varna, ai-varna, au-varna*, neither occur in Pānini nor Kātyāvana, for *e* is a and *i*, *o* = *a* and *u*, *ai* = *a* and *e*, *au* = *a* and *o* Their general name is, in "older grammars," *sandhy-akshara*, and in Kātyāyana and Patañjali, for *e* and *a*, *prashshta varna* for *ai* and *au*, *samāhāra varna* [41] The Kāśikā, it is true, speaks of these vowels simply as *varnas*, [42] but, in the first place, it does not form a compound *e-varna*, etc, like *i-varna*, etc, and, secondly, however great the value of this commentary, it cannot always be considered as fulfilling the conditions of critical accuracy, and cannot therefore be quoted as evidence against Pānini or Kātyāyana But even if there were in Pānini's Grammar such compounds as *e-varna, o-varna*, their occurrence would not invalidate the conclusion that *varna* represents the

40 Patañjali on the Introduction अथ क उपदेश । उच्चारणम् । कुत एतत् । दिशिरुच्चारणक्रिय । उच्चार्य हि वर्णानाह । उपदिष्टा इमे वर्णा इति ।

41 Kaiyyata to Patañjali on Śivas 3 and 4 सन्ध्यक्षराणीत्यन्वर्था पूर्वाचार्यसंज्ञा । Whether this term "older teachers" applies to the present Prātiśākhyas where the same term occurs, or not, will be included in the subsequent discussion on the relation of these works to Pānini's grammar —Patañjali on the same Śivas इमावैचौ समाहारवर्णौ the same on I 1, 9 (ए ओ) प्रश्लिष्टवर्णावेतौ ।

42 Kāśikā on the Śivas 3 ए ओ इत्येतौ वर्णौ, on Śivas 4 ऐ औ इत्येतौ वर्णौ ।

written sign, since it is the combination of *varna* with a consonant that alone can enable us to decide the question at issue And that there are other values in Pānini which could not have been spoken, though they are an essential portion of his Grammar, will be seen afterwards

How far *varna* coincides, and is synonymous with *akshara*, "syllable," or not, is obvious it coincides with the latter term when it means vowel, otherwise not[43] The distinction between these terms may therefore be comprised in the following definition *Kāra* denotes the pronounceable sound, which *must* always be one syllable, but may also consist of more than one syllable , if denoting one syllable, it may mean a simple vowel (*a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, r, r̄, lr,*), or a complex vowel (*e, o, ai, au*), or a simple consonant made pronounceable by a vowel (usually the vowel *a*), *karana* denotes more especially the pronounceable *sound represented either by more than one syllable* or by one syllable containing more than one consonant *Varṇa*, on the contrary, implies merely the simple letter,– among vowels, especially the simple vowel , among consonants, merely the *single consonant, not accompanied with a vowel sign* Lastly, *akshara* means "syllable" in our sense of the word, and may sometimes therefore coincide in value with *kāra*, or *varna*, in the same way that *kāra* and *varna* are apparently convertible terms when they are the latter parts of compounds, the former of which are *a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, r, r̄, lr,*

I have, in the foregoing observations, purposely abstained from alluding to the use which has been made of these terms in the existing Prātiśākhyas of Śaunaka and Kātyāyana , in the first place, because it was my object to show their meaning in Pānini s work, as well as in those old Commentaries which have strictly adhered to his terminology, and because it would have been an uncritical proceeding to confound the meaning or bearing of these terms in works belonging to a different

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43 Kaiyyata on V.II 2, 89 अडरमच् , the same on the Introduction to the Śivas गक्षर ्यञ्जनसहितोऽच् , Nāgojībh यथा ये नजामह इति पञ्चाक्षरमिति ।

class of Hindu literature,[44] secondly, because the date of these works, themselves,— or, at least, their relative position towards Pāṇini,— will have to be ascertained, before any conclusion can be drawn from a difference which may have existed between them in the use of these terms Though I shall recur to this point, I may now state my belief, that even if grammatical works older than Pāṇini had used *varna* in the general sense of *akshara*, such a circumstance would not disprove the fact that *varna* might have meant a written sign even before Pāṇini's time There is, for instance, an introductory Vārttika of Kātyāyana which countenances the assumption that *varna* had such a sense in some older grammarian, but the very manner in which it is brought before the reader shows that Kātyāyana contrasts the use of this word in Pāṇini with that in his predecessor, and confirms, therefore, the definition I have given before At the same time, it leaves the question undecided whether *varna* was, or was not, a written letter in this older work The Vārttika I am alluding to occurs at the end of the general introduction, and refers to the following Vaidika passage mentioned in the beginning of the introduction "Whoever establishes this speech according to its words, its accent, and its syllables, he is fit to institute or to perform sacrificial work, and that it is a duty to study grammar, follows from the words 'let us be fit to institute,

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44 This confusion, unhappily, does not seldom occur in the definition of words, as found in our dictionaries, thus, अभ्यस्त is used by Yāska in the general sense "reduplicated," and as applied to a *dhātu*, or radical portion of the verb (Nir IV 23 परिर इत्यनिरुपसृष्टोऽभ्यस्त , or IV 25 रविश्रानिरभ्यस्त), in Pāṇini, however, it means the first two syllables of a reduplicated *anga* or base (VI 1,5), अभ्यास means *reduplication*, in the *Nirukta* (V 12), on the form वश्याम्, आदिनाभ्यासेनो पहितनोपधामादत्ते बमस्तिरत्तकर्मा , in *Pāṇini* it means the first *syllable* of reduplication (VI 1, 4) To philosophical terms this remark applies in a still stronger sense, they have been generally dealt with as if the same term, *e g*, मनस्, आत्मन, बुद्धि, etc, had the same sense in all the philosophical systems, which is not the case

or to perform sacrificial work' " [45] The Vārttika then says "*akshara*, you must know, means *na kshara* i e, not perishable," and continues, "or *akshara* comes from *aś*, 'to pervade,' with the affix *sara* (*Kaiyyata* 'because it pervades the sense')," and concludes, "or they call *varna* so in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian)' [*Patañjali* i e "or in the Sūtra of a former (grammarian) *varna* has the name *akshara*" *Kaiyyata* "For it is said in another grammar, that the *varnas* are *aksharas*" *Nāgojibhatta* "In a similar manner the term *akshara-samāmnāya* means a multitude of *varnas* as seen in the Vedas][46]

Before I proceed to give other evidence as to Pānini's knowledge of writing, I will draw attention to two words which have here a claim to notice, and first to the word *ūrdhva* It is used adverbially in the sense of "after," for instance, in Manu, ix 77, *ūrdhvam samvatsarāt*, "after a year," or, Chhāndogya-Upanishad *tata ūrdhvam vakshyāmi* "after that I shall say" But *ūrdhva* means, originally, "upwards, above, high, or (in combination with an ablative) higher" It is possible to conceive progress as an act of rising, when the sense "after" would follow from this latter acceptation But it is more probable that the metaphorical sense of the word was first applied to passages in books,— where it is frequently used in this way,—before it became a more general one, and, if so, the figure would naturally follow from the description I have given of a Hindu book, for the beginning of a Sanskrit MS,—as may still be seen in some of the oldest specimens,— was at the bottom of the pile of leaves which

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45 Patañjali यो वा इमां पदशः स्वरशोऽक्षरशो वाचं विदधाति स आर्त्विजीनो भवति। आर्त्विजीनाः स्यामेत्यध्येयं व्याकरणम्, Kaiyyata ऋत्विजमर्हतीत्यार्त्विजीनो यजमानः (Pānini, V 1, 71) ऋत्विक्कर्मार्हतीति याजकोऽप्यार्त्विजीनः (ib Vārttika)

46 Kātyāyana । अक्षरं न क्षरं विद्यात्। अश्नोतेर्वा सरोऽक्षरम्। वर्णं वाहुः पूर्वसूत्रे Patañjali (on the latter) अथवा पूर्वसूत्रे वर्णस्याक्षरमिति संज्ञा क्रियते, Kaiyyata पूर्वसूत्र इति। व्याकरणान्तरे वर्णा अक्षराणीति वचनात्, Nāgojibhatta पूर्वसूत्रशब्देन प्राचीनपुरुष इति भावः। एवं चाक्षरसमाम्नाय इत्यस्य श्रुतिरूपो वर्णसङ्घात इत्यत्र तात्पर्यम्।

constitute its bulk What is "above," in a Hindu book, is, therefore, "after," while, with us, the term "above" denotes the opposite sense, from the circumstance of the progress of our books being a descending one And this assumption is corroborated by a second synonymous word, viz *udaya*, which also means, originally, "going upwards," and then, "after, following," and which, moreover, is never used in this sense, except of passages in books It occurs frequently thus in the Prātiśākhyas, but, for the reasons stated before, I content myself with quoting, for its occurrence in Pāṇini, the Sūtra VIII 4, 67[47]

"If writing," says Muller, "had been known to Pāṇini, some of his grammatical terms would surely point to the graphical appearance of words I maintain that there is not a single word in Pāṇini's terminology which presupposes the existence of writing" (p 507)

As Weber, in his "Indische Studien" (vol iv p 89), had already mentioned two grammatical terms of "Pāṇini," viz, *svaritet* and *udāttet* which he considers as "founded on graphical appearance", I cannot suppose that Muller has overlooked the remark of this scholar, but must assume that he has silently rejected it, either on account of its incorrectness or its inconclusiveness It is true, that the latter term does not occur at all in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, nor the former, such as it is given by Weber, but, in the first place, there can be no doubt that, in the Sūtra I 3, 72, *svaritañitas* must be analysed *svaritetas* and *ñitas* (comp the commentaries), and on the other hand, Muller can neither have ignored that Pāṇini's expression, *anudāttanitas* (I 3 12), is equivalent to *anudāttetas* and *nitas*, nor that the term *anudāttet* distinctly occurs in the rules III 2, 149 and VI 1, 186 His absolute silence on this point was probably, therefore, not caused by Weber

47 For the same reasons I do not avail myself of the word अधि "above," though it occurs in the same sense "after," e g in Kātyāyana Prātiśākhya, I 33 (The word अनन्तर is used in the sense "before," e g, in Uvata's com on this Prātiśākhya, I 85 उपरिष्टात्, in the sense "after," e g, in the introduction of the Jaiminīya nyāya mālā-vistara)

partial inaccuracy, but by the reference the latter gives when naming these terms,—the reference to Dr Boehtlingk's "Comment" on the Sūtra I 3, 11 For it must be readily admitted that the gloss of this writer is quite enough to raise the strongest apprehensions as to the sanity of Pānini, provided that it does not induce the reader to arrive at a peculiar view of the fitness of Pānini's *'editor'* himself to compose a comment on this great grammarian [48]

48 I subjoin a literal copy of this gloss, which but poorly illustrates the character of the second volume of Dr Boehtlingk's *"edition* of Pānini It runs thus —"Wo der Circumflex gestanden hat, will ich nicht entscheiden, wenn zu *Pānini s* Zeiten die Accente in der gewohnlichen Schrift nicht gebraucht wurden, konnte der Circumflex uber einen beliebigen Buchstaben des *adhikāra* gesetzt werden, ohne Verwirrung hervorzubringen Die Handschriften unseres Grammatikers, die ich verglichen habe, sind alle aus der neusten Zeit und bezeichnen diesen Accent ebenso wenig wie die nasalen Vocale in *upadeśa* Wenn ich 2 *vārtikas* zu unserer Regel recht verstehe, so wurde bei einem *adhikāra* ein Buchstabe angefugt (der vielleicht der Trager des Circumflex war) und zwar so oft als der *adhikāra* in der Folge erganzt werden musste, konnte er nicht so weit erg nzt werden, dann musste man ihn die fehlenden Male bei den vorhergehenden (?) Regeln erganzen Hier die beiden *vārtika's* selbst यावतिथोऽनुबध्यते तावतो योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥ १ ॥ भूयसि प्रागमुत इति वक्तव्यम् ॥२॥ " **Translation** "Where the circumflex [*sic*, this rendering of *svarita* shows that the writer has no idea of the nature of this accent] was placed, *I will not decide* (*sic* !), if, at the time of Pānini, accents were not used in common writing, the circumflex could be put over any letter of an *adhikāra* without causing confusion The MSS of our grammarian which I h co mpared (*sic*) are all of the most recent date, and mark this accent as little as the nasal vowels in the *upadesa* If I understand rightly two Vārttikas to our rule, a letter (which, perhaps, was the bearer of the circumflex) was added to an *adhikāra* that is to say, as often, as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel, if it could not be supplied so often, one had to supply it when wanted, at the preceding (?) [this query belongs to Dr B] rules Here are the two Vārttikas themselves [then follow the Sanskrit words as given above]—The latter words ("if it could not," etc) are beyond my comprehension, for,

I must, therefore, while rejecting Weber's reference, defend first his quotation of the Sūtra with the assistance of Kātyāyana and Patañjali Pānini says (I 3, 11) "An *adhikāra*, or heading rule (will be recognized in my Grammar) by the

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what reasons could prevent an *adhikāra*, from being supplied, and if there was such an obstructed *adhikāra*, how could it be supplied at a preceding rule? I doubt, however, whether this sentence, which is intended to represent the meaning of the second Vārttika as quoted above, was understood by its own author But the very words of this "Vārttika" revenge themselves on the person who has ill-used them so much they betray the character of the work which has commented on them For, however intelligible they are in themselves, it must be observed that the Cacutta Pandits have made a mistake in the wording of this Vārttika Dr Boehtlingk, therefore, in giving himself the appearance of having quoted a rule laboriously examined in an original work, is simply detected in reprinting, without any examination whatever, the error of the Calcutta editors *And this, I may add, is generally the case* in his "comment' The fact, in short, is this —the Kāsikā and Siddhk have no Vārttikas on this Sūtra and in the Mahābhāshya the words given belong to two distinct passages, which have been erroneously contracted by the Pandits into one, viz, to a passage of a Vārttika, भूयसि प्राग्वचनम्, and to a passage from the commentary of Patañjali भूयसि प्राग्वचनं वक्तव्यम्। प्रागमुत इति वक्तव्यम् (Kātyāyana ought to have said—instead of प्राक्, प्राक with a word following in the ablative') The second of these passages is therefore merely a correction, by Patañjali, of the vague expression of Kātyāyana, and the इति वक्तव्यम् which conveys the correction, becomes purposeless, or assumes a different bearing, in the version of the Calcutta edition And I may add, that the Pandits have erred, too, in publishing what is their first Vārttika, for they mistook the comment of, and a quotation made by, Patañjali, for the text of a Vārttika The reprint has been, of course, as conscientious in the latter case as in the former Compare for both Vārttikas the following note with its translation But to show in its proper light the astounding explanation of Dr Boehtlingk on this second Vārttika, I shall illustrate his ingenuity by taking some instances of the Kāsikā, as quoted in its comment on this Sūtra, and apply to them his comment on the first Vārttika According to Kāsikā, the Sūtras VI 4, 129, III. I, 91, VI 4, 1, IV 1, 1, III 1, 1, are among those markedwith

accent *svarita*"[49] Upon this *Patañjali* remarks "Why does he say that ?"—*Vārttika* "An *adhikāra* to every rule

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a *svarita*, to indicate that they are *adhikāras*, the first of these *adhikāras* extends over 47, the second over 541, the third over 613, the fourth over 1190, and the fifth over 1821 Sūtras If we credit, therefore, the explanation of Dr Boehtlingk, a letter of the alphabet (he does not say which, probably, therefore, any one) was added, perhaps, as he says in the parenthesis, as the bearer of this *svarita*, "that is to say, as often as the *adhikāra* had to be supplied in the sequel" In other words, in the five instances quoted such a letter was added to the Sūtra VI 4, 129, 47 times, and so on to the other Sūtras severally 514, 613, 1190, and 1821 times ! And this method, he conceives, had been devised in a kind of literature, where shortness is the chief object, and where "an author rejoiceth in the economizing of half a short vowel as much as in the birth of a son" Surely, it requires neither knowledge nor scholarship, but merely something else, to deter a rational writer from eliciting such a sense from a sane book

49 Pānini I 3, 11 स्वरितेनाधिकार —Patañjali किमर्थमिदमुच्यते—Vārttika omitted in the Calc ed at this Sūtra, but mentioned VI 1, 158, where it occurs as a quotation) अधिकार प्रतियोग तस्यानिर्देशार्थं —Patañjali अधिकार क्रियते प्रतियोग तस्यानिर्देशार्थ इति । किमिद प्रतियोगमिति । योग योग प्रति प्रतियोग योगे योगे तस्य ग्रहण मा कार्षमिति—Kaiyyata स्वरितेने तीत्यभूतलक्षणे तृतीया । स्वरितेनाधिकारो लभ्यत इत्यर्थ । स्वरितत्व सूत्रस्थाना केवल मधिकारज्ञानार्थं प्रतिज्ञायत न तु प्रयोगसमवायि । अधिकारशब्दो भावसाधन कर्मसाधनो वा । विनियोगो लोकेऽधिकार उच्यते स एवेह गृह्यते । किमर्थमिति । आकाङ्क्षादिवशा त्प्रकृतस्य सम्बन्धो लोक इव भविष्यतीति प्रश्न — Vārttika (omitted in the Calc ed) अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञानं तु—Patañjali अधिकार परिमाणाज्ञान तु भवति । न ज्ञायेत कियन्तमवधिमधिकारोऽनुवर्तत इति —Vārttika (omitted in the Calc ed) अधिकारपरिमाणज्ञानार्थं तु—Patañjali अधिकार परिमाणज्ञानार्थमेव तर्ह्यय योगो वक्तव्य । अधिकारपरिमाण ज्ञास्यामीति । कथ पुन स्वरितेनाधिकार इत्यनेनाधिकारपरिमाण शक्य विज्ञातुम् । एव वक्ष्यामि स्वरितेनाधिकार इति—Kaiyyata अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञान त्विति । यथा धातोरिति किं प्राग्लादेशेभ्य । अथाध्यायपरिसमाप्ते अङ्गाधिकार द्रागभ्यासविकारेभ्य । अथ सप्तमपरिसमाप्तेरिति—Patañjali स्वरित दृष्ट्वाधिकारो न भवतीति केनेदानीमनधिकारो भविष्यति । लौकिकोऽधिकार । नाधिकार इति चेदुक्तम् । किमुक्तम् । अ यनिर्देशस्तु निवर्तकत्वात्परिभाषेति । अधिकारार्थमेव तर्ह्यय योगो वक्तव्य —Kaiyyata स्वरित दृष्ट्वेति । प्रकृतस्याधिकारनिवृत्त्यै शब्दान्तरस्य स्वरितत्व प्रतिज्ञायते । तेन विशिकाल्य इत्यत्र स्वरितत्वदर्शनात् ।

belonging to it, its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation"—*Patañjali* "'An *adhikāra* (says Kātyāyana) is made (so as to apply) to every rule belonging to it, its object is to avoid a (repeated) designation' What does that mean, 'to every rule belonging to it?' 'To every rule belonging to it,' means in reference to each such rule, and he wants to imply that I must not make special mention (of the *adhikāra*) in each such rule"—*Kaiyyata* "The words, 'by the accent *svarita* [in Sanskrit it is only one word], are the third case in the sense of 'such and such a mark' (as ruled by Pāṇini, II 3, 21), *i e* an *adhikāra is marked* with the accent *svarita* The plan to mark *words which are in the Sūtra* with the *svarita*, is merely devised in order that the *adhikāra* may become recognizable, *but it has nothing to do with practical application* [*i e* the *svarita* is not pronounced] The word *adhikāra* either expresses a condition or it expresses an act, in common language, *adhikāra* is the same as *viniyoga*, or appointment to an office, and *this* is understood here Patañjali asks 'Why *does Pāṇini say that*?' This *question means* Will there be (in his grammar) as in common language, a connec-

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द्वित्रिपूर्वादित्यस्य निवृत्ति नुमीयते—Patañjali ननु चोक्तम्। अधिकारपरिमाणाज्ञान त्विति।—Vārttika न वनियोऽनुवर्तनीयनावतो योगानिति वचनात्सिद्धम्—Patañjali यावन्तियोऽनुवर्तन तावतो योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तत इति वक्तव्यम्—Kaiyyata यावन्तिय इति। द्वित्रिपूर्वान्निष्कादित्यत्रैकारोऽनुबन्ध कर्तव्य। तेन द्वयोर्योगयोरनुवृत्तिर्भवति। एवमन्यत्रापि वेदितव्यम्—Patañjali अथेदानीं यत्राल्पीयांसोऽनुयमश्च योगानधिकारोऽनुवर्तते कथं तत्र कर्तव्यम्—Kaiyyata अल्पीयास इति। कथ पुनर्भिन्न जातीयापेक्षया प्रश्नप्रत्यय। परमतापेक्षया। अल्पे योगा इति इति चेन्मन्यसे तत्राल्पीयांसोऽन्। तथा बहवोऽल इति चेद्भूयासो योगा —Vārttika भूयसि प्राग्वचनम्—Patañjali भूयसि प्राग्वचन कर्तव्यम्। प्रागमुत इति वक्तव्यम्। तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम्। न वक्तव्यम्। सन्देहमात्रमेतद्भवति। सर्वसन्देहेषु चेदमुपतिष्ठते व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि सन्देहादलक्षणमिति—Kaiyyata भूयसीति। अङ्गस्य प्राग्भेरित्यादि वक्तव्यम्। नत्तर्हीति। यावन्तियोऽनुवर्तनीय भूयसि प्राग्वचन चेत्यर्थ —Patañjali

किं प्रयोजनम्—Vārttika (omitted in the Calc ed) स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत—Patañjali अधिकारगति। अधिक कार। अधिक कार्यम्। गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्येत्यत्र गोटाङ्ग्रहण चोदित न कर्तव्य भवति। स्त्रीग्रहण स्वरयिष्यते। स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भविष्यतीति स्त्रियामित्येव प्रकृत्य ये विहितास्तेषां ग्रहण विज्ञास्यते तत्र स्वरितेनाधिकारगतिर्भवतीति न दोषो भवति *etc*

tion of the matter treated under the same head, because the subjects refer necessarily to one another, and the like?"

[Then follows in the Bhāshya a discussion of Patañjali, the purport of which is to show that the word *adhikāra*, which literally means *superintendence, government*, has, in grammar, an analogous sense to that which it has in common life]— *Vārttika* "But (there is) no knowing how far an *adhikāra* goes"—*Patañjali* (repeats these words in the manner we have seen before, adding the ellipsis 'there is,' as he usually repeats the words of a Vārttika which he explains, in order to ensure its proper text, and then continues) "These words mean It might not be known to what limit an *adhikāra* is applicable" —*Vārttika* "However, that the extent of an *adhikāra* might be known"—*Patañjali* "Just that the extent of an *adhikāra* might be known, on that account this rule (I 3, 11) had to be uttered, in other words, that I may know how far an *adhikāra* goes But again, how can the extent of an *adhikāra* be known through the Sūtra, which says 'an *adhikāra* (will be recognized in my grammar) by the accent *svarita*,' so that I could say 'the *adhikāra* (is recognized) by the accent *svarita*?'" —*Kaiyyata* "'But, there is no knowing how far an *adhikāra* goes,' says the Vārttika, far instance, does *adhikāra* III 1, 91, stop before the Sūtra III 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the (third) book? Does the *adhikāra* VI 4, 1, stop before the Sūtra VI 4, 78, or does it go to the end of the seventh book? —*Patañjali* "Since, as soon as (another) *svarita* is *seen*, there is an end of the *adhikāra* (indicated by the previous *svarita*, by what means, then, can there be now an *adhikāra*? *Adhikāra* is (as we have seen) a term of common life Now, if you say there is no such *adhikāra* (meant in this grammar), why was it said before [in a previous discussion], 'that a new injunction stopping (the applicability of the *adhikāra*), a *paribhāshā* (had to be given)' Therefore on account of an *adhikāra* this rule had to be uttered"—*Kaiyyata* "(When Patañjali says), 'As soon as (another) *svarita* is *seen*,' etc, (his words mean) to stop the (applicability of an) *adhikāra* on a subject matter, the plan is devised to mark another word with the *svarita*, thus,s because the *svarita* mark is seen in the Sūtra V 1, 32, itut m

be inferred that the applicability of the *adhikāra*, V 1, 30 (which also was marked with the *svarita*) has ceased "—*Patañjali* "Now, has not Kātyāyana said, 'But there is no knowing how far an *adhikāra* goes ?' " (Quite so, hence the) *Vārttika* (continues) "This results from what is said elsewhere '*whatever the numerical value of the letter which is joined (to an adhikāra-rule)*, to as many rules ' "—*Patañjali* "These words would have been better quoted thus 'With whatever numerical value a letter is joined (as *anubandha* to an *adhikāra rule*), to as many (following) rules *the adhikāra applies* ' "—*Kātyāyana* "For instance to the Sūtra V I, 30, the mute letter i (the *second* in the Śivasūtras) is to be joined, therefore it applies to *two* subsequent rules, and similarly in other *adhikāra* rules "—*Patañjali* "Now, what is to be done when an *adhikāra* applies to more rules, while there are fewer letters of the alphabet ?" —*Kātyāyana* "(When Patañjali says) 'Fewer (and more),' is this comparative (literally, is the affix of the higher degree, i e the affix of the comparative) used in reference to different species (of the same class) ? (No,) it is used in an absolute sense (For he means) If you think the rules belonging to the same *adhikāra* are *few*, then (you would have to take his words as implying that) the letters of the alphabet may be (still) *fewer*, on the other hand, if you think the letters are *many*, then (his words would imply that) there may be still *more* rules belonging to the same *adhikāra* ' —*Vārttika* "If there are more (rules for the same *adhikāra* than letters), the expression *prāk*, 'before,' "—*Patañjali* "If there are more (rules for the same *adhikāra* than letters), Pānini (says the Vārttika) ought always to have made use of the expression *prāk*, 'before,' or the Vārttika ought to have rather said '*before, with a word following in the ablative*' " [The Vārttika means that the *adhikāra* then should have been always indicated in the Sūtra by the expression that such and such an *adhikāra* is valid "before," i e goes no further than, such and such a rule or word, as is the case, e g I 4, 56, II 1, 3, IV 4, 1 and 75 V 1, 1 and 18, 3, 1 and 70, etc] Ought Pānini indeed (in such a case) to have expressed himself thus ? No, he ought not This is a mere question of a doubtful case, and in all such cases there avails

the Paribhāshā which says that 'the solution of the special (difficulty) results from explanation,[50] for it does not follow that because there is a doubt there is no criterion (to solve it) '" —*Kaiyyata* "The foregoing words, 'if there are more, etc' mean that Pānini (instead of giving, *e g* his rule, VI 4, 1, as he does in the word *angasya*, *i e* 'this is the *adhikāra* on base'), *ought to have said*, '*angasya prāg bheh*,' *i.e* 'this is the *adhikāra* on *base* which avails before (*i e* does not go further than) VIII 1, 1 (exclusively)' The words of Patañjali, 'ought Pānini, indeed, etc,' mean ought Pānini to have given the contents of the two preceding Vārttikas?" [Then follows, in the Bhāshya, an observation of *Patañjali* on a doubtful passage, which is the subject of his comment in its appropriate place He continues] "What is the purpose of the Sūtra?"—*Vārttika*. "That the proper way of applying an *adhikāra* might be known by means of the *svarita*"— *Patañjali* " 'Proper way of applying an *adhikāra*' (Just so), (*Adhi-kāra* means) an agent placed over, or an act to be done, placed over Now, at the Sūtra I 2, 48, the expression *gotān* (used in the Vārttika to this rule) *must not be considered as the subject of the adhikāra*, for the expression *stri* will have the *svarita* Therefore, according to the words of the Vārttika ('that the proper way,' etc) those affixes alone will have to be understood in that Sūtra (I 2, 48) which fall under the head *stri*, and, according to the Vārttika's own words, there is no defect in the Sūtra I 2, 48" [To understand this latter illustration of our rule, it is necessary to know that *Kātyāyana*, in giving the Vārttika *gotāngrahaṇam krinnivrittyartham*, to the Sūtra I 2, 48, intends to point out an omission in the rule of Pānini Patañjali, however, shows that the *svarita* over *stri* in this rule obviates the punctiliousness of the Vārttika, and he therefore taunts Kātyāyana, as well on this occasion as when he comments on I 2, 48, for not having

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50 "व्याख्यानत" The word व्याख्यान 'explanation' is defined in the Introduction of Patañjali उदाहरण प्रत्युदाहरण व वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदित व्याख्यान भवति, "explanation is giving an instance, giving a counter-instance, and supplying the elliptical of a sentence all these three together"

understood 'the proper way of applying the *adhikāra*,' by repeating to him his own criticisms on the Sūtra of the present discussion Then follow other illustrations of Patañjali as to the proper way of applying an *adhikāra*, which it is not necessary for our immediate purpose to add to the foregoing translation]

The passage I have given here from the "Great Commentary" on Pānini,—and which may serve too as a specimen of the manner in which the two grammatical saints, Kātyāyana and Patañjali, scrutinized every doubtful word of the Sūtras,—will have shown that the rule of Pānini, which teaches the manner of defining an *adhikāra*, or heading rule, is interpreted by them as being based on *the application of writing* to his terminology There are three modes, as we learn from them (and the fact is, of course, fully borne out by the Sūtras themselves), by which Pānini indicates a heading-rule in his Grammar The one consists in his using the word *prāk*, "before," with a word following in the ablative, by which expression he implies that the heading continues up to that word, which will occur in a later Sūtra Another mode of his is merely to indicate the heading, the extent of which is then, as the Bhāshya says, matter of "explanation " His third and last mode consists in putting the sign of a *svarita—which was not intended for pronunciation*,—not over any word of the Sūtra, arbitrarily, as Dr Boehtlingk imagines, but, as common sense word *stri*, in in the Sūtra I 2, 48 Kātyāyana, moreover, indicates (by the expression *bhūyasi*), and Patañjali expressly states, that in those cases in which the number of Sūtras comprised under an *adhikāra* did not exceed the number of the letters of the alphapet, a letter representing a numerical value (without, of course, being the bearer of a *svarita*'), was added to indicate the extent of the *adhikāra* , and from the example given by Kaiyyata we must infer that the numerical value of the letter was determined by the position it has in the Śivasūtras, since *i* is to him an equivalent of the figure 2 And this representation of figures by letters of the alphabet deserves an additional interest from the circumstance that it is quite different from the method we meet with at a later period of Hindu progress in mathema-

-ties and astronomy[51] In short, we see that Patañjali and Kātyāyana not merely presuppose a knowledge of writing in Pānini, but consider the use he has made of writing as one of the *chief means by which he has built up the technical structure of his work*

I will obviate, at once, an objection which may be raised,—though it could scarcely be raised by those who treat Kātyāyana as a contemporary of Pānini, or use the Commentaries as *direct evidence for or against Pānini,—I mean the objection* that the comments of Kātyāyana and Patañjali would only testify to their own knowledge and use of written accents, but that neither necessitate the conclusion that Pānini knew and employed, as they suppose him to have done, written accents, nor that he was acquainted with the use of written letters for the purpose of denoting numerical values And should there be any who attach more faith on Kaiyyata, the late commentator on Patañjali, than to Patañjali himself and Kātyāyana, they might, perhaps, adduce an observation of this grammarain "that the Sūtras of Pānini were read in one breath, (without any regard to accent)," in order to infer that the *svarita* might have been *sounded* over the word which it intended to mark as *adhikāra*[52] Such a conclusion, however, would be invalidated not only by the natural sense of the passage quoted, but by the remark of the same grammarian, which is contained in the translation I have given before, and which states that the *svarita* was not intended, in our present case, for 'practical application' It remains, therefore, to be seen whether this remark of Kaiyyaṭa is confirmed by analogous facts in Pānini s Grammar

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51 Compare the system of Āryabhatta, who uses vowels and nasals = 0, *ka, ta, pa, ya* = 1 , *kha, tha pha, ra* = 2 , *ga da, ba la* = 3, etc See *Lassen's Zeitschrift*, II 423 ff , "Journal Asiatique ' (1835), vol XVI , p 116, etc

52 Kaiyyaṭa towards the end of the Introduction एकश्रुत्या सूत्राणां पाठात्स्वेषामुदात्तादीनामुपदेश —Another discussion of *adhikāra* occurs incidentally in *Patañjali's comment on* I, 1, 49

Pāṇini frequently refers, in his Sūtras, not only to grammarians who have preceded him, but to lists of affixes, and to arrangements of the verbal roots, which must have coincided with his own terminology The personal relation of Pāṇini to these collections or books will be the subject of future remark, it will suffice, at present, to show that Pāṇini's work, and these works, were based on the same grammatical system Pāṇini refers, for instance, to a list of affixes which begin with *un*[53] where the mute letter *n*—which has exactly the same technical value in the affix *un* as it would have in Pāṇini's affixes *an*, *na*, or in other terms containing this *anubandha*—proves that these affixes rested on the terminology which governs the Sūtras of Pāṇini He speaks of *bhuvādi*, *adādi*, *tudādi*,—in short, of the ten classes of radicals, just as they are given in *the* Dhātupātha, and even of sub-divisions of the word, *e g*, *dyutādi pushādi*, *bhidādi muchādi yajādi*, *radhādi* etc ,[54] and if there existed a doubt that the expressions quoted, which contain the first word of a list, necessarily imply the whole list, and in the order in which the words of such a list appear in this work,[55] the doubter

53 उणादि, compare Pāṇini, III 3 1 4, 75 —This word is sometimes written उण्णादि but wrongly, for the Sandhi rules apply not only to real words, but equally to the technical language of the Sūtras Since उण्, in उणादि, is a *pada* (pūrva-pada), it has to follow the Sandhi rule given, VIII 3, 32 Real *padas* ending in ण्, it is true, are rare, and perhaps still rarer as first parts of a compound, but a word वृषणश्व becomes on that very ground the subject of an exceptional rule, its first part is said to be not पद but भ (1 4, 18, v 3) As the phonetic rules of the grammarians bespeak the necessities and predilections of the Hindu organ of speech, technical names could not but follow the general rules of pronounciation, and there is no cause, therefore, to [illegible]ish an exception for the term उणादि

54 Compare e g Pāṇini I 3, 1 II 4, 72 and 75 III 1, 69, 73, 77, 78, 79, 81, 25, III 1, 55 3, 104, VII 1, 59, VI 1, 15, VII 2, 45, and other instances which are quoted in the excellent *Radices Linguæ Sanscritæ* of *Westergaard*

55 It is barely possible, however, to admit such a doubt, for Pāṇini does not restrict himself to generally mentioning radicals by giving the

would have at least to admit that the *anubandhas* or technical letters which accompany each radical in the Dhātupāṭha, possess the grammatical value which is expressly defined as inhering in them by special rules of Pānini [56] He refers to the *Upadeśa*, which is, according to Patañjali, a list, not only of the radicals, but of nominal bases, affixes, particles, increases of the base and grammatical substitutes, all of which are "settled," as Kātyāyana says [57]

Now, if we consult the Sūtras which treat of the verbal roots, we find, for instance, that, as a rule, a root is *udātta* on the last syllable (VI 1, 162) Yet (VII 2, 10) Pānini states that a radical has not the connecting vowel *i*, if in the *Upadeśa* it is a *monosyllable* and *anudātta* As the former rule concerns a radical, which is part of, and embodied in, a real word, while the latter describes the theoretical existence of the radical in the Dhātupātha, we may imagine, it is true, that for the purpose of grammatical teaching a pronunciation of the radical was devised in the *Upadesa* different to that which it has in real language But, even on the supposition that a radical could be pronounced *anudātta*, is it probable that Pānini or the

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first word of the order, such as *bhuvādi*, *adādi*, etc , he refers, also, to distinct numbers Thus, VII 2, 59, he speaks of *the four* radicals beginning with वृत्, and the rule he gives applies to no other four radicals than वृत् and the three radicals which *follow it in the Dhātup* (§ 18, 19-22) he speaks, VII 2, 45, of *the five* radicals beginning with कृ, and his rule avails only for कृ and the four radicals which follow it in the Dhātup (§ 28, 116-120), or, VII 3, 98, of *the five* radicals beginning with रुद् (=Dhātup § 24, 59-63), or, VI 1, 6, of *the six* radicals beginning with जक्ष् (=Dhātup § 24, 63-69), or, VI 4, 125, of *the seven* radicals beginning with फण् (Dhātup § 19, 73-79), etc In all these instances, therefore, the order of the radicals in the Dhātupātha, as referred to by Pānini, is the absolute condition of his rule

56 Compare the quotations in Westergaard's Radices, p 342 343

57 Compare Pānini 1 3, 2, VI 1, 45, 186, 4, 37, VIII 4, 14, 18, (the term occurs frequently, too, in the Vārttikas and Kārikās,) and see note 39

authors of the Dhātupātha could have recourse to so clumsy a method for conveying the rule implied by the term *anudātta*? Would they, gratuitously, have created the confusion that must necessarily arise from a twofold pronunciation of the same radical, when any other tehnical *anubandha* would have enabled them to attain the same end? Let us suppose, on the contrary, that *anudātta*, in the *Upadesa*, does not mean the spoken, but the *written* accent, and the difficulty is solved without the necessity of impugning the ability or the common sense of the grammarians

This inference is strenghtened, moreover, by another analogous fact, which may be recalled before I give further proof from a synopsis of Pānini s rules and the appearance of the radicals in the *Upadesa* This fact is contained in the last Sūtra of Pānini's grammar, where he teaches that the short vowel *a*, which in his rules is treated as *vivrta*, or pronounced with the expansion of the throat, is, in reality, *samvrta* or pronounced with the contraction of the throat This Sūtra did certainly not intentd to impose upon the pupil the task of pronouncing, during his grammar lessons, the short vowel *a* in such a manner as no Hindu can pronounce it, or of sounding, when learning the properties of this vowel, instead of it, some nondescript deputy vowel-sound it can only mean that, for the sake of technical purposes defined by the commentators, Pānini made a fiction in his grammar, which, of course, he had to remove when terminating his book This fiction, however, being based on a *phonetic impossibility*, would be a very awkward one if it applied to oral teaching only, it becomes quite unobjectionable if it is supported by a *written* text[58]

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58 I call it a *Phonetic impossiblity* since अ, if it were pronounced विवृत, would assume the properties of आ, but as Pānini does not allow such an अ to occupy the same portino of *time which is required for the pronunciation* of आ, a *short* अ pronounced with the expansion of the throat, becomes, to a Hindu organ of speech and from Pānini's point of view impossible For this reason, Patañjali, too, who on a previous occasion had defined the letters which occur in the Upadesa, *i e*, the *upadishtavarnas*, as *pronounced* or pronounceable letters [see note 40], looks upon

If a radical in the Upadeśa, says Pānini (I 3 12) has the *anudātta* (or *n*) as *anubandha*, it is, in general, inflected in the *ātmanepada* if its *anubandha* is the *svarita* (or *ñ*) it is, under certain conditions inflected in the *ātmanepada*, under others, in the *parasmaipada* (I 3, 72), if it has neither of these *anubandhas* (nor is subject to any of the rules I 3, 12–77), it is inflected in the *parasmaipada* only (I 3, 78) Again, from the Dhātupātha we learn that, for instance, the radicals *jyā, r, li vr bhr kshi (sh) jñā*, are *anudātta* (*i e*, do not assume the connecting vowel *i*), but have neither the *anudātta* nor the *svarita* as *anubandha*[59] The latter term implies that the sign which bears this denomination is adder *after* the significant element Since, however, the roots named are monosyllable *in the Upadesa*, and since it is impossible to pronounce an accent without a vowel-sound supporting it, the assumption that the *anudātta* and other accent-*anubandhas* were spoken sounds, would lead to the conclusion that the same verbal root was simultaneously *anudātta* and *not anudātta*[60]

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this last Sutra of Pānini as merely given to counteract the effect of the Upadesa, he thus implies that this is only case in which an *upadishta-varna* was not pronounceable अ अ (VIII 4, 68) ॥ किमर्थमिदमुच्यते। अकारोऽयमक्षरसमाम्नाये विवृत उपदिष्टस्तस्य संवृततामत्यापत्ति क्रियते—Kaiyyata किमर्थमिति। अकारस्याकारवचने प्रयोजनाभावात्प्रश्न। अकारोऽयमिति। सवर्णार्थमिह शास्त्रे विवृतदोषयुक्तोऽकार उपदिष्ट। तस्य प्रयोगे संवृतस्यैवोच्चारणार्थमिद प्रत्यापत्तिवचनम्। अक्षरसमाम्नायग्रहण सकलशास्त्रोपलक्षणम्।

59 Westergaard s Radices § 31, 29—36

60 Other instances may be gathered from Westergaard s Radices I must exclude, however, some which are not countenanced by the best MSS I have consulted, those, especially, which are met with in the Radices under the term स्वरितेत् For when we read in the latter work (*e g* § 22 and § 31, 1, etc) that भ्रञ्, हञ् धृञ् etc, डुक्रीञ्, प्रीञ्, श्रीञ्, etc are अनुदात्ता and स्वरितेत, or (§ 31, 10, etc) that कञ्, द्रुञ्, पूञ्, etc are उदात्ता and स्वरितेत, I could not adduce these and similar instances in support of my onclusions since Mādhava is certainly right in giving, instead of the term स्वरितेत, the word उभयपदिन् or उभयतोभाषा as the *anubandha* ञ् would become meaningless, if these roots had, besides, the *anubandha* स्वरित The term स्वरितेत् is correctly indicated by

If I have adhered to the terminology of the Dhātupātha, as it is met with in the best MSS of Mādhava's commentary, the foregoing illustration would have become still more striking, for, according to them, the roots *jñā ṛi* etc, are *anudātta* and have the *udātta* as their *anubandha* In general, it may be observed, that the Sūtra I 3, 78 is apparently understood by Mādhava and other commentators as referring to roots which have *udātta* as *anubandha* for a root which is neither *anudāttet* nor *svaritet*, is described by them as *udāttet* There is some reason, however, to doubt whether the latter term really occurred in the *Upadesa* referred to by Pānini, and as the solution of this doubt, in an affirmative sense, would add another fact to those already obtained it will not be superfluous to advert to it here

The misgiving I entertain is based on Pānini s own terminology He speaks of roots which, in the *Upadesa*, are *udātta* (VII 3, 34) and *anudātta* (VI 5, 37, VII 2, 10), which are *anudātta* and *svaritet* (see the preceding quotations, p 45), but there is no trace in his grammar of radicals which are *udāttet* And this omission is the more striking, as the number of roots which are marked *udāttet* in the present MSS of the Dhātupātha is considerable Nor is it satisfactorily explained by the negative tenor of the Sūtra I 3, 78, since there is no other instance in Pānini's work of a technical and important term being given vaguely and inferentially

If, however, we apply to the present case the conclusions we have been already compelled to draw as to Pānini's having used accents as written signs, we may surmise the reason why

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Westergaard and the MSS for instance of the roots ट्विक,अन्चु etc (§21), णिजिर् विजिर्, विष्लृ, (§ 25), नृष, क्षुचिर्, णह, रञ, etc (§ 26), तुद, णुद, etc (§ 28) रुधिर्, भिदिर् etc (§ 29), etc for all these radicals have not the *anubandha* ञ् A proof of the accuracy of the commentators in this respect, is afforded by the instance of the root चक्ष् (§24, 7) which is described in the Dhātupātha as अनुदात्तेत्, and represented at the same time as चक्षिङ्, for they explain on this occasion that the *anubandha* ङ् does not indicate the *ātmanepada*-inflection, marked by the term अनुदात्तेत्, but refers to the effect of the Sutra III 2, 149

udāttet is not amongst the terms employed by this grammarian Of the three accents, *udātta, svarita* and *anudātta* the two latter only are marked in the principal Vaidika writings, the *svarita* being indicated by a perpendicular line over the syllable, the *anudātta* by a horizontal line under it The syllable not marked is *udātta* It is possible, therefore, to say that a radical or syllable which is not marked is *udātta*, and that one with a horizontal stroke under it is *anudātta*, it is possible, too, to speak of a line *added* under or over the last letter of the radical; but it is surely impossible to call that 'addition' *(anubandha)* which, not being visible, could not be added at all This explanation of the absence of the term *udāttet* is founded, of course, on the supposition that the system of marking the accents was the same at Pānini's time, as it occurs in our MSS of the principal Veda-Samhitās, but it can hardly be doubted that this system is as deeply rooted in Hindu tradition as everything else connected with the preservation of the sacred books If, then, it becomes certain that Pānini knew written accent signs, which were not pronounced, it will not be hazardous to put faith in the statement of Kaiyyaṭa, that the *svarita*, which was intended as a mark of an *adhikāra*, was also a written sign, a perpendicular stroke, "but had nothing to do with practical application"

That Pānini, as Patañjali tells us, and Kātyāyana gives us to understand, used letters in his *adhikāra* rules for the notation of numeral values, does not follow, we must admit, from his own words in the quoted Sūtra (I 3, 11), but there is a rule of his (VI 3, 115) in which he informs us that the owners of cattle were, at his time, in the habit of marking their beasts on the ears, in order to make them recognizable Such signs, he says, were, for instance, a *svastika*, a ladle, a pearl, etc , yet he mentions besides, *eight* and *five*. Now, either the graziers used letters of the alphabet to denote these numerals, or they employed special figures, as we do In either case it is obvious that they must have been acquainted with writing, in the latter, moreover, that the age to which they belonged had already overcome the primitive mode of denoting numerals by letters, and that writing must have been, therefore, already a matter

of the commonest kind At all events, and whichever alternative be taken—if even the Hindu cattle paraded the acquaintance of the Hindus with the art of writing and of marking numerals,—one may surely believe that Pānini was as proficient in writing as the cowherds of his time, and that, like them, he resorted to the marking of numerals whenever it was convenient to him to do so

The absence of a letter or grammatical element, or even of a word, the presence of which would have been required by a previous rule, is called by Pānini *lopa* The literal sense of this word, which is derived from *lup*, "to cut off," is "cutting off" It will be conceded that it is not possible to "cut off" any but a visible sign, and that a metaphorical expression of this kind could not have arisen, unless the reality existed *Indeed, the very definition* which Pānini gives *of this term* must remove every doubt, if there existed any He says "*lopa* ('cutting off') is the not being *seen*" (*scil*., of a letter, etc)[61] For, whatever scope may be given to the figurative meaning of the radical "to see," it is plainly impossible that an author could speak of a thing visible, literally or metaphorically, unless it were referable to his sense of sight A letter or word, wich is no more *seen*, or has undergone the effect of *lopa*, must, therefore, previously to its *lopa*, have been a visible or written letter to him And the same remark applies to an expression which occurs several times in the Sūtras, for Pānini speaks more than once of affixes which are *seen*, or of a vowel which is *seen* in words [62]

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61 I 1, 60 अदर्शनं लोप ।

62 अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते III 2, 178, 3, 130 —अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते III 2, 75 —अन्येषामपि दृश्यते VI 3, 137 —अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते III 2, 101 —इतराभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते V 3, 14 —Though in the foregoing observations no conclusion of mine is founded on statements of the later grammarians alone it may not be without some interest to mention now that these grammarians do not seem to have conceived as much as the idea of Pānini's grammar ever having existed except in writing For Kaiyyata, amongst others, refers to a written text of this grammar, even when there is *no necessity whatever of* making allusion to such a circumstance We

If it becomes evident from the foregoing arguments that Pānini not only *wrote*, but that *writing* was a main element in

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must infer, therefore, that it was a matter of course to him to look upon Pānini's rules as having been at all times written rules Thus, in commenting on the vowel अ of the *pratyāhāra* अक्, and in adverting to its last letter, he might have simply spoken of a letter क् but he speaks of a *letter-sign* क्, "अत्र हि ककारेण चिह्नेन प्रत्याहारस्थो विवृतो निर्दिष्ट *etc* "— And when Professor Muller, as we shall presently see, avails himself of so late an *authority as the Mīmānsā Vārttikas of Kumārila to prove or to* make plausible facts concerning the highest antiquity, I will quote, as *a counterpart*, another late work which *introduces to us the god Śiva* himself as recommending the *writing* and wearing of grammatical texts *as a means for the attainment of boons and the prevention of evils* I need not add that I look upon neither work as a sufficient authority to *settle the points of the present discussion The passage alluded to occurs* in the chapter of a mystical dialogue between Śiva and his wife, called *Jñāna kāndasesha rahasya, where Siva, after having explained to Pārvatī the* letters of the alphabet, concludes his instruction with the following words

एतद्व्याकरणं देवि लिखित्वा भूर्जपत्रके ।
गोरोचनाकुङ्कुमेन तथा शल्लचञ्चुना ॥
कण्ठे वा यदि वा बाहौ मस्तके वा वरानने ।
सर्वव्याधिविनिर्मुक्तो दिनानां त्रितये भवेत् ॥
सन्तानार्थे पठेद्विद्वान्धारयित्वा समाहितः ।
अवश्यं लभते पुत्रं वन्ध्यायां मम तुल्यकम् ॥
रणे राजकुले घोरे अपि व्याघ्रभयादिके ।
स्मरणादेव नश्यन्ति किमन्यत्कथयामि ते ॥

i e, "if a man *writes* this grammatical explanation on a birch-leaf, with a mixture of the yellow pigment *Gorochanā* and saffron, or if he has it written by a scribe with the quill of a porcupine on his neck or his arm or his head, he becomes after three days free from all disease, and if a wise man, wishing for progeny, reads and retains it attentively, he is sure to obtain a son, who will be like me, from his (previously) barren wife If a battle (rages), or the royal family spreads terror, or if a tiger causes alarm, or on similar occasions all danger vanishes in merely remembering (this grammatical explanation) What further shall I tell thee ?' etc

the *technical* arrangement of his rules, it may not be superfluous to ask, whether the sacred texts had been committed to writing at the time at which he lived, or whether they were preserved then by memory only? That the mere fact of learning the Veda does not disprove the possibility of its having been preserved by written letters also, is clear enough, and is indirectly acknowledged by Muller himself[63] He quotes, it is true, a passage from the Mahābhārata, and one from Kumārila's Vārttikas, which condemn, the one the writing of the Veda, and the other the learning it from a written text,[64] but I hold that neither quotation proves anything against the practice of writing the Veda at or before Pānini's time Both passages might, on the contrary, be alleged to confirm the fact that the offence of writing the Vedas had already been committed when these verses were composed They betray, it is true, as we should expect, the apprehension of their authors lest oral teaching might become superfluous, and the services of the *Brāhmana* caste be altogether dispensed

63 History, etc, p 246 "The ancient literature of India was continually learnt by heart, and even at the present day, when MSS have become so common, some of its more sacred portions must still be acquired by the pupil from the mouth of a teacher, and not from MSS'

64 p 502 "In the Mahābhārata, we read 'Those who sell the Vedas and even those who write them, those also who defile them, they shall go to hell' Kumārila says 'that knowledge of the truth is worthless which has been acquired from the Veda, if the Veda has not been rightly comprehended, if it has been learnt from writing, or been received from a Sudra'—The passage of the Mahābhārata quoted by Muller, occurs in the *Anusāsanap* verse 1645 I doubt, however, whether, his rendering of वेदाना चैव दूषका "those also who defile the Veda' is quite correct It seems to me that it means "those who corrupt the text of the Vedas,' and that it is synonymous with the वेदविप्लावका which occurs in the second act of the *Prabodha-chandrodaya* (ed Brockhaus, p 20, l 14, ed Calc p 12*a*, l 5) The expression समयाना च दूषका which precedes by a few verses (*Anusāsanap* v 1639) *i e*, "those who vitiate agreements is analogous There is, unhappily no comment of *Nīlakantha* on either of these passages

with, but they convey nothing else—not even the prohibition that the teacher or Guru himself might not have recourse to a written text of the Veda if he wanted to refresh his memory or to support his meditation Nay, we may go further, and assert that by an authority certainly much older than both the authors of this passage of the Mahābhārata and the Mīmānsā-Vārttikas, all the first *three castes* were distinctly recommended to possess written Vaidika texts For, let us hear what the lawgiver Yājñavalkya says "All the religious orders must certainly have the desire of knowing the Veda therefore the first three classes—the twice-born—should *see* it, and hear it" But how could Yājñavalkya order them to see the Veda, unless it could be obtained in writing ?[65] And that Pānini, too, must have seen written Vaidika texts follows clearly, in my opinion, from two Sūtras, in which he says "(the augment *ā*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz , in other instances than those mentioned in a former rule)," and (the *ādesa an*) is *seen* also in the Veda (viz , in other cases of *asthi, dadhi*, etc ,

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65 Yājñav III 191 : स ह्याश्रमैर्विजिज्ञास्य' समस्तैरेवमेव तु ।
द्रष्टव्यस्त्वथ मन्तव्य श्रोतव्यश्च द्विजातिभि ॥

Vijñānesvara, the modern commentator of Yājñavalkya, who, like Kumārila, is evidently not pleased with the recommendation of 'seeing' the Veda, twists the construction of the latter passage into the following sense "the twice-born should first hear (the expounding of) the Veda, then reflect on it and thus (by reflection) keep it present (to their mind)' It order to impart to the word "to see" the figurative sense, he reverses the entire, and, it would seem, natural order of the injunction, which recommends the twice-born first to look into the Veda, then to reflect on it, and ultimately to ask the teacher to give his own explanation of it , the latter becoming of course, more effectual, if the pupil is already somewhat familiar with his subject —This is the comment of the *Mitakshara* "यस्मान्नित्यतयात्मप्रमाणभूतो देवस्तस्मादसावुक्तमार्गेण सकलाश्रमिभिर्नानाप्रकार जिज्ञासितव्यस्तमेव प्रकार दर्शयति । द्विजातिभिर्द्रष्टव्योऽपरोक्षीकर्तव्यस्तत्रोपाय दर्शयति– श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्य इति । प्रथमतो वेदान्तश्रवणेन निर्णेतव्यस्तदनन्तर मन्तव्यो युक्तिभिर्विचारयित व्यस्ततोऽसौ ध्यानेनापरोक्षीभवति ।"

than those mentioned previously)[66] It is on this ground that—while disapproving the loose manner in which the Siddhānta-kaumudī imparts to the word *grantha* in Pānini's Sūtra, I 3, 75, the meaning *Veda*,—I cannot altogether reject the identity which is established by this commentary between the two words, though it would have been better, in a gloss on Pānini, to have retained the distinction which he himself established for facilitating a clearer understanding of those Sūtras which refer to revealed books, and of others which speak of unrevealed ones [67]

There is but one other question which can be raised in connection with the present inquiry Was writing known *before* Pānini ?

One word, of frequent occurrence in the Vaidika hymns, or rather the sense which is imparted to it, may enable us, perhaps to form an opinion on this difficult problem I mean the word *Rshi* It is explained by old and modern commentators as "a seer of hymns,' a saint to whom those Vaidika hymns referred to his authorship, were revealed by a divinity Thus it is said in the Śatapatha-Brāhmana that the *Rshi* Vāmadeva obtained *seeing* the *Rgveda-hymn*, IV 26, 1, or in the Aitareya-Brāhmana that the *Rshi seeing* the hymn II 41, 2, spoke it [68] For reasons which will appear from the statement

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66 VI 4, 73, and VII 1 76 छन्दस्यपि दृश्यते ।

67 Compare note 27 I alluded above to the analogy which exists between the contrasted words *grantha-artha* and *kānda-padārtha* After having shown that the Veda was a written book at Pānini's time, I may now quote a passage from the Parisishta of the Nirukta (I 12) अयं मन्त्रार्थचिन्ताभ्यूहोऽभ्यूढो श्रुतितोऽपि तर्कतो न तु पृथक्त्वेन मन्त्रा निर्वक्तव्या प्रकरणश एव तु निर्वक्तव्या , which is thus rendered by Mr Muir, in his valuable work, "Original Sanskrit Texts' (vol II , p 188) "This reflective deduction of the sense of the hymns is effected by the help of oral tradition and reasoning The hymns are not to be interpreted as isolated texts, but according to their context ' In this passage the words श्रुतितोऽपि तर्कत are equivalent of अन्वतोऽर्थतश्च ।

68 *Śatap* XIV 4, 2, 22 तद्धैतत्पश्यन्नृषिर्वामदेव प्रतिपेदे । अहं मनुरभवं सूर्यश्चेति—*Aitar Br* 9, 1 तदेतदृषि पश्यन्नभ्यनूवाच नियुत्वाँ इन्द्रसारथिरिति ।

I shall have to make on the chronological relation of these works to Pānini, I cannot appeal to these *Brāhmanas* as evidence for the present purpose, it is safer to quote Pānini himself who also speaks of hymns which are *seen* (IV 2, 7), and who must therefore be supposed to record an impression current at, and very probably anterior to his time This probability, however, becomes a certainty when we consider the distinct evidence of Yāska, who says that "the Rshis see the hymns with all kinds of intentions," and who makes mention of a predecessor of his, a son or descendant of Upamanyu, who defined the word *"Rshi as coming from seeing, for he saw the hymns"*[69]

There were authorities, consequently, before Pānini's time who maintained the doctrine that the hymns were revealed—not to the sense of hearing, but to the sense of sight That the act of *seeing* may be applied metaphorically to the faculty of thinking or imagining, and the term *seen* to what is imagined or thought, is no matter of dispute But when we read numerous hymns of the Rgveda which neither express a truth, nor depict nature or events of life, but which simply manifest the desire of a pious mind,—when we read, for instance, such sentences as, "may this oblation, Agni, be most acceptable to thee," or "may afflictions fall upon him who does not propitiate the gods," or "we address our pious prayers to thee, Agni," etc, what *metaphorical* meaning could connect such words with the notion of seeing?

Compare also Muller's "Ancient History," p 237 शौनको द्वितीय मण्डल दृष्टा, etc, or *Uvata* on the first verse of the Rk-prātisākhya (in the valuable edition of Mr Regnier, "Journal Asiatique," tome VII 1856, p 181) ऋषयो मन्त्रद्रष्टा, or *Nāgojībhatta* on Pānini, I 1, 1 मन्त्रकाण्डद्रष्टार ऋषय, or the same on IV 1, 79 ऋषिशब्देनात्र मन्त्रद्रष्टार etc

69 *Nirukta*, 7, 3 एवमुच्चावचैरभिप्रायैरृषीणां मन्त्रदृष्टयो भवन्ति, and 2, 11 ऋषिर्दर्शनात् । स्तोमान्ददर्शेत्यौपमन्यवः । Hence Rshi becomes a synonyme of a Vaidika hymn Compare *Pānini*, IV 4, 96, or *Sāyana* on Rg-v I 189, 8 ऋषिभिरतीन्द्रियार्थप्रकाशकैर्मन्त्रैः ।

And we know, too, that it is not merely the general idea conveyed by a hymn, the ethical truth, or the picture of the elementary life, or the display of sacrificial rites, or the praise of the gods, of the imprecation against foes, which is looked to by the worshipper as having been revealed to a Rshi by a divinity,—but that the very words of the hymn, and the order in which they stand, were deemed equally a gift from above The various methods devised by the learned to preserve the words in their integrity and to prevent their order from being disturbed, prove that they did not view these hymns in the light of mere revelations of truths, but in that of revelations of words and of sentences held sacred in the very order and form in which they appear Nor does the fact that there were various Śākhās with various recensions of several hymns or passages of hymns, invalidate this argument, for each Śākhā claimed its text as the original one, as *the* revealed text, and its belief was, therefore, based on the same ground which was common to all

If, then, such is the case, the word *seer* loses altogether the power of metaphorical expression, it then applies only to the material fact of seeing material words, such as the divinity holds before the seer's material eye The inference to be drawn from these premises is obvious It seems to derive some corroboration from a collateral fact The Vaidika writings from immemorial times being communicated by the teacher to his pupil orally, and the pupil being bound to receive them in this and in no other way, their name, as we find it at the time of the Brāhmanas and Kalpa-Sūtras, is *sruti* "hearing," or the sacred text received by the sense of hearing Though Pānini does not use this term, we may fairly admit, on account of his using the word *srotriya*,[70] that he was acquainted with it, and that the same mode of studying the Vedas was already usual in his time Now the contrast is marked between "seeing' the Veda and "hearing it In metaphorical language

70 II 1, 65, and V 2, 48 Compare also the Ganas to V 1, 130, 133 श्रुत in the Gana to V 2, 88, and श्रौति in the Gana to IV 2, 138

both terms would be equivalent, they would express comprehension of the revealed truth But there is no metaphor in the term *sruti*" "Hearing" the Veda rests on a material fact Why should "seeing' the hymns be considered to rest on a less solid ground ?[71]

To extend this view from Yāska and the predecessors he quotes, to the authors of the hymns themselves, would, no doubt, be very hazardous For even on the supposition that the etymology proposed by the son of Upamanyu is correct,[72]

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71 The title of Rshi was, at a later period, given to renowned authors, though they were not considered as inspired by a divinity The Kalpa works, for instance, are admitted on all hands to be human and uninspired, yet Kumārila writes in one of his Vārttikas (I 3, 10)

'न तावदनृषिः कश्चित्स्मर्यते कल्पसूत्रकृत् ।
कर्तृत्वं यदृषीणां तु तत्सर्वं मन्त्रकृत्समम् ॥ and again
आर्षेयवचनं नित्यपर्यायत्वेन गम्यते ।"
"आर्षेयत्वप्रसिद्धिश्च कल्पसूत्रेष्ववस्थिता ॥ and
आचार्यवचनानां च प्रामाण्यं श्रूयते श्रुतौ ।
अङ्गानां च प्रणेतार आचार्या ऋषयो मताः ।"

i e, "No mention occurs of an author of a Kalpa work who was not a Rshi, but all that Rshis compose is like that which the author of Mantras compose The words *ārsheya* is a synonym of eternal, and the quality of *ārsheya* is vested in the Kalpa-Sūtras , moreover, the Veda says that the words of *Āchāryas* have authority, and the *Āchāryas* who have composed the Vedāngas are deemed Rshis" And though these words of his make part of a *Pūrva paksha* and the proposition that the Kalpa works have the same claim to divine origin as the Mantras, is refuted by him in *Siddhānta*, his refutation merely concerns this latter part of the discussion, but does not invalidate the title of Rshi given by him to the authors of the Kalpas For, as he said on a previous occasion न नात्यन्तानृतं वक्तुं शक्यते पूर्वपक्षिणा, 'the propounder even of a *Pūrva paksha* should not say that which is too much at variance with truth (if his *Pūrva-paksha* is to be worthy of being part of a discussion)' The title Rshi had, therefore, already lost its primitive worth in the days of Kumārila, and had undergone the same fate which is common to titles in general

72 That in दृश्, the द may be a prefix, in countenanced by the

no proof exists that Rshi is conceived in the hymns as implying the seer of *words* or *sentences*. He may be there the real representative of the Roeh who sees the general idea of his prayer or praise, but fashions it with his own—uninspired—words. There are, we may add in proof of this assertion, various instances in the poetry of the Rgveda, where the poet is spoken of as having "composed" (literally *fabricated* or *generated*), not as having "seen," a hymn, and they belong undoubtedly to real antiquity, as they show greater common sense. Thus it is said in the Rgveda (I 171, 2) "this praise accompanied with offerings, Maruts, is made (lit *fabricated*) for you by the heart," or (VI 16, 47) "we offer to thee, Agni, the clarified butter in the shape of a hymn made (lit *fabricated*) by the heart," or (I 109, 1, 2) " ... my clear understanding has been given to me by no one else than by you, Indra and Agni, with it I have made (lit *fabricated*) to you this hymn, the product of intelligence, which intimates my desire for sustenance. For I have heard that you are more munificent givers than an unworthy bridegroom or the brother of a bride, therefore, in offering you the Soma, I produce (lit *generate*) for you a new hymn," or (VII 7, 6) "these men who have cleverly made (lit *fabricated*) the hymn, have increased the prosperity of all (living beings) with food."[73] And when the poet says in a Valakhilya hymn "Indra and Varuna, I have seen through devotion that which, after it was heard in the beginning, you gave to the poets—wisdom, understanding of speech," *seeing* is obviously used by him in none but a metaphorical sense.[74]

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following analogies दृह् (= दृध्) and ऋह्, दृफ् and ऋफ्, दृ (दृणोति) and ऋ (ऋणोति), दृत (respected) and ऋत (respected), दह् and अह् (whence अहन्), दिव (to be glad) and इव्, दश् and नश् ।

73 Compare, for other instances, Muir's 'Original Sanskrit Texts,' vol II p 208, note 163, and p 220

74 Compare *ibid* p 220 इन्द्रावरुणा यदृषिभ्यो मनीषां वाचो मतिं श्रुतम् अदत्तमग्रे । ... तपसाभ्यपश्यम् । In the same sense *Yāska* says (I 20) साक्षात्कृतधर्माण ऋषयो बभूवुः, 'the Rshis had an intuitive insight into duty (Muir, vol II p 174), and Sāyana *e g* in his gloss on Rgv I 162, 7 ऋषयोऽतीन्द्रियद्रष्टारः, or on IV 36, 6 ऋषिरतीन्द्रियद्रष्टा ।

There are in the Vaidika age, says Professor Muller (p 70), "four distinct periods which can be established with sufficient evidence They may be called the *Chhandas period*, *Mantra period*, *Brāhmana period*, and *Sūtra period*, according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them earliest hymns of the Rgveda, such as he conceives them to be according to the instances he has selected from the bulk of this Veda (p 525 *ff*) The Mantra period is, in his opinion, represented by the remaining part of the Rgveda (p 456 *ff*), and the Brāhmana period by the Sāma-veda-samhitā, "or the prayer-book of the Udgātṛ priests," which is entirely collected from the Rgveda,[75] the Samhitās of the Yajurveda (p 457), the Brāhmana portion of the Vedas, properly so called, and "on the frontier between the Brāhmana and Sūtra literature," the oldest theological treatises or *Āranyakas and Upanishads (p 313 ff) Lastly, the Sūtra* period contains, according to him (p 71 *ff*), the Vaidika words written in the Sūtra style, viz the six Vedāngas or the works on "Sikshā (*pronunciation*), Chhandas (*metre*) Vyākarana (*grammar*) Nirukta (*explanation of words*) Jyotisha (*astronomy*), and Kalpa (*ceremonial*)' (p 113 *ff*)

An author has, in general, the right of choosing his term, nor should I consider it necessary to add a remark on the names by which Muller designates these four periods of his Ancient History, were it not to obviate a misunderstanding which he has not guarded against, though it may be of consequence to do so Two terms which have served him for the marking of two periods of the ancient literature, viz, *Sūtra* and *Brāhmana*, have been used by him nearly in the same sense in which they occur in the ancient writers, and if he

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75 Professor Lenfey has pointed out, in his valuable edition of this Veda, the few verses which cannot be found in the Rgveda (Pref p xix) This redundance, which is apparently at variance with the general doctrine of the Hindu commentators, that the Sāmaveda is extracted from the Rgveda, proves, in reality, that there must have been at one time, another recension of the Rgveda than that which we possess now, a fact clearly proved also by Muller's "Ancient History"

embraces more works under these heads than those writers would have comprised, it may be fairly admitted that no misconception will result from this enlargement of the original acceptation of the words Sūtra and Brāhmana But if he designates the two first epochs by the names of *Chhandas* and *Mantra*, with the explicit remark that he has made this division of four periods *'according to the general form of the literary productions which give to each of them its peculiar historical character'* (p 70), it may be inferred that, as in the case of Sūtra and Brāhmana, he has chosen those names in conformity with the bearing they have in the ancient literature itself, that the Hindus, when using the words Chhandas and Mantra, meant by them the older and the more recent hymns of the Rgveda Such, however, is not the case

Mantra means, as Colebrooke has already defined the word—in conformity with the Mīmānsā writers—"a prayer, invocation, or declaration It is expressed in the first person or is addressed in the second, it declares the purpose of a pious act, or lauds or invokes the object, it asks a question or returns an answer, directs, inquires, or deliberates, blesses or imprecates, exults or laments, counts or narrates," etc "Mantras are distinguished under three designations Those which are in metre are termed *rch* those chanted are *sāman* and the rest are *yajus* sacrificial prayers in prose," etc [76]

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76 "Transaction of the Royal Asiatic Society,' I p 448, 449 — Compare also Jaiminiya-nyāyamālā-vistara, I 4, 1 (*pūrva paksha*) तथा चोक्तम् ।'

"उत्तमामन्त्रणाख्यन्तत्वान्तरूपाद्यभावत ।
मन्त्रप्रसिद्ध्यभावाच्च मन्त्रतैषां न युज्यत इति ॥"
अग्नये जुष्टं निर्वपामीत्युत्तमपुरुष ।
अग्ने यशस्विन्यशसे समर्पयेत्यामन्त्रणम् ॥
उर्वी चासि वस्वी चासीत्यस्य तद्रूपम् ।

इषे त्वोर्जे त्वेति त्वान्तरूपम् । आदिशब्देनाशीर्देवनाप्रतिपादनादय etc —II 1, 7 तच्च समाख्यानमनुष्ठानस्मारकादीनां मन्त्रत्वं गमयति । उरु प्रथस्वेत्यादयोऽनुष्ठान स्मारक । अग्निमीळे पुरोहितमित्यादय स्तुतिरूपा । इषे त्वेत्यादयस्त्वदन्ता । अग्न आ याहि वीतय इत्यादय आमन्त्रणोपेता । अग्नीदग्नीन्विहरेत्यादय प्रैषरूपा । अध स्विदा सीदुपरिस्विदासीदित्यादयो विचाररूपा । अम्बे अम्बिकेऽम्बालिके न मा नयति कश्चने

The first meaning of *Chhandas*, in the ancient writers, is *metre*, the second is *verse* in general, and in this sense it is contrasted with the prosaic passages of the Yajurveda. Thus the *Purusha-sūkta* of the Rgveda—the late origin of which hymn is proved by its contents—says [77] "From this sacrifice which was offered to the universal spirit sprang the Rchas (Rg-verses), the Sāmans (Sāma veda-verses), *the* metrical passages (Chhandas) and the Yajus," which latter words seem to be referable only to the two characteristic portions of the Yajurveda, since Yajus in general designates its prosaic part. In a verse of the Atharva-veda it is contrasted, in a similar manner, with the Yajur-veda, and seems to imply there the verses of the Atharva-veda. "From the remainder of the sacrifice sprang the Rchas, Sāmans, the verses *(Chhandas)* the old legendary lore, together with the Yajus."[78] In the Sūtras of Pānini the word *Chhandas* occurs, in rules which concern Vaidika words, one hundred and ten times, and its sense extends over two hundred and thirty three Sūtras, in rules of this category it means Veda in general, comprising thus the Mantra— as well as the Brāhmana— portion of the

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त्यादय परिदेवनरूपा । पृच्छामि त्वा परमन्तं पृथिव्या इत्यादय प्रश्नरूपा । वेदिमाहुः परमन्तं पृथिव्या इत्याद्य उत्तररूपा । एवम् यद्युदाहार्यम् etc. II 1, 10—12 पादबन्धेनार्थबन्धेन चोपेता वृत्तबद्धा मन्त्रा ऋचः । गीतिरूपा मन्त्राः सामानि । वृत्तगीतिवर्जितत्वेन प्रश्लिष्टपठिता मन्त्रा यजूंषीत्युक्ते न कापि सङ्करः —II 1, 13
ततो मन्त्राणां त्रैविध्यं सुस्थितम् ।

77 Rgveda (X 90, 9) तस्माद्यज्ञात्सर्वहुत ऋचः सामानि जज्ञिरे ।
छन्दांसि जज्ञिरे तस्माद्यजुस्तस्मादजायत ॥

Sāyana, it is true, renders छन्दांसि with गायत्र्यादीनि when the word would simply mean "metre," but it does not seem natural that the enumeration of the three Vedas should be interrupted by a word meaning "metre," while on the other hand *the word Yajus alone might have* left a doubt as to whether the metrical contents of this Veda are included in it or not

78 Athrv XI 7, 24 ऋचः सामानि छन्दांसि पुराणं यजुषा सह । उच्छिष्टाज्जज्ञिरे etc ,—In this sentence *Chhandas* is separated from the word *Yajus* by the word *Purāna*, which here probably implies the legends of the *Brāhmanas*

Veda Whenever, therefore, such a general rule concerning a Vaidika word is restricted or modified in the Mantra, and thus assumes the sense of Brāhmana, or whenever such a general rule is restricted or modified in the Brāhmana portion, Chhandas then becomes contrasted with Brāhmana and therefore assumes the sense of Mantra [79]

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79 Thus it is used by Pānini in the general sense of *Veda* I 2, 61, 4, 9 20 81, II 3, 3 4, 28 39 73 76, III 1, 42 50 59 84 123 2, 63 88 105 137 170, 3, 129, 4, 6 88 117, IV 1, 29 46 59, 3, 19 150, 4, 106, 110, etc It is contrasted with *Mantra*, for instance, I 2, 36 (comp 34 35 37), III 2, 73 (comp 71 72), with *Brāhmana* for instance, IV 2, 66, IV 3, 106 (comp 105) —The meaning "desire" of the word *chhandas* has not been mentioned above, as being irrelevant for the present purpose, nor was it necessary to give passages from Pānini where the word has the general sense "metre," such as III 3, 34, etc, or as base becomes the subject of rules respecting its derivatives —Professor Weber has adverted in his "Indische Studien" (vol i p 29 note) to the manner in which Pānini has used *chhandas* he defines it, however, as meaning first, "desire, then "a prayer of desire, prayer, *mantra*, contrasted with *Brāhmana* IV 2, 66, then in more extended sense, even *brāhmanārtham*, III 2, 73' [or shall this mean, asks he, *brāhmana-narāsārtham*? Certainly not, for the word is contrasted in III 2, 73 with the word *mantra* of III 2, 71 (72), and implies therefore in this Sūtra the sense *brāhmana*], and then "in the widest sense, generally, *veda*, as contrasted with *loke*, *bhāshāyām* and its slokas (IV 3, 102*n*)" [The latter instance is not happy, since it belongs to a Vārttika of the Kāsikā, and since there are more than a hundred Sūtras of Pānini which might have been referred to for the corroboration of the sense *Veda*] Lastly he says, it means "metre"—But this reversal of the meanings of *chhandas* is not only objectionable etymologically, it prevents our understanding how *chhandas* could mean both a poetical and a prosaic passage of the Vedas Hence, the incidental question of Weber and his conjecture,—which could not have arisen if he had started from the general sense *Veda*, which *if contrasted* (but only then) with *mantra*, would imply the sense *Brāhmana*, and *vice versā* It seems, moreover, that the sense "desire' marks the last stage of its development, in short, that *chhandas* means

From no passage, however, in the ancient literature, can we infer that *Mantra* conveyed or implied the idea of a later portion, and *Chhandas* that of an earlier portion of the Rgveda hymns

Some very questionable points in the detail of this distribution of the Vaidika literature will be noticed by me hereafter as touching the ground on which I have raised this inquiry into *the chronological results of Professor Muller's work* There is, however, one general question which must be dealt with previously If Muller had contented himself with simply arranging his subject-matter as he has done, we could readily assent to the logical or æsthetical point of view which, we might have inferred, had guided him in planning his work But he does not allow us to take this view, when he assigns dates to these periods severally The "Chhandas period," he says, comprises the space of time from 1200 to 1000 B C (p 572), the "Mantra period" from 1000 to 800 B C (pp 497, 572), the Brāhmana period" from 800 to 600 B C (p 435), and the "Sūtra period" from 600 to 200 B C (pp 249, 313) In other words, his arrangement is meant to be an historical one He does not classify ancient Sanskrit literature into a scientific, a ritual, a theological literature, each of which might have had *its coeval representatives* but he implies by these dates that when the poetical epoch, his Chhandas- and Mantra- epoch, had terminated its verses, the theological time, that of the Brāhmanas and Upanishads etc , set to work, and when this had done with theology, the ritual and scientific period displayed its activity, until it paused about 200 B C I need scarcely *observe that such an assumption is highly improbable,* unless we suppose that India which, from the time of Herodotus, has always enjoyed the privilege of being deemed the land of supernatural facts, has also in this matter set at defiance the ordinary law of human development. But this doubt seems to derive some support from Muller's own arguments In the course of his researches he has confirmed the general opinion,

1 metre , 2 a verse , 3a a verse as prayer , b Veda in general, which may become modified to Mantra or Brāhmana , 4 desire

that a Sūtra work presupposes, of necessity, the existence of a Brāhmana, and that a Brāhmana cannot be conceived without a collection of hymns, the Samhitā Thus the ritual Sūtras of Āśvalāyana would have been impossible unless a Brāhmana of the Rgveda—for instance, tha Aitareya-Brāhmana,—had been known to him ; for he founds his precepts on it, and such a Brāhmana, in quoting the hymns of the Rgveda, implies, as a matter of course, a previous collection of hymns, a Rgveda itself Yet though this argument is unexceptionable, and may be used, perhaps—not without objections of some weight — so as to presuppose in Āśvalāyana a knowledge of, and therefore as prior to him, a Sāmaveda and a Taittirīya-Sanhitā—where is the logical necessity that the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā and the Śatapatha-Brāhmana (belonging to Muller's third period, 800—600 B C) existed before Āsvalāyana who lived, according to him, between 600 and 200 before Christ ? His Sūtras would be perfectly intelligible if neither of the two last-named works had been composed at all And, again, where is the logical necessity that the Upanishads should have been written before the authors of the Kalpa Sūtras, the Grammar, etc , since all these works are quite independent in spirit and in substance from the theosophy of Upanishads or Āranyakas On what ground does Professor Muller separate Pānini from these latter writings by at least 250 years, when there is no trace of any description in his Sūtras, either that he knew this kind of literature or that his Grammar would not have been exactly the same as it is now if he had lived much before the time of these theological works ? I shall recur to this latter question , but I cannot conclude the expression of my misgivings as to this historical division without questioning, too, the usefulness of these dates in general They are not founded as Muller himself repeatedly admits, on any basis whatever [80]

80 "Ancient Sanskrit Literature," p 244 "It will readily be seen, how entirely hypothetical all these arguments are As an experiment, therefore, though as no more than an experiment, we propose to fix the years 600 and 200 B C as the limits of that age during which the Brāhmanic literature was carried on in the strange style of Sūtras" p 435 "Considering, therefore, that the Brāhmana period must com-

Neither is there a single reason to account for his allotting 200 years to the three first of his periods, nor for his doubling this amouut of time in the case of the Sūtra period He records, it is true, his personal impression alone in speaking of 1200, 1000 years, and so on, but the expediency of giving vent to feelings which deal with hundreds and thousands of years, as if such abstract calculations were suitable to the conditions of human life, appears very doubtful, if we consider that there are many who will not read his learned work with the special interest and criticism which it inspires in a Sanskrit philologer, but will attach a much higher import to his feelings, than he himself does One omission, moreover, I cannot leave unnoticed in these general dates, since it has a bearing, not merely on the intervals of his periods, but on their starting points

Colebrooke, in his essay on the Vedas, speaks of the Jyotisha, the ancient Vaidika calender, and after having quoted

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prehend the first establishment of the threefold ceremonial, the composition of separate Brāhmana, the formation of Brāhmana-charanas and the schism between old and new Charanas, and their various collections, it would seem impossible to bring the whole within a shorter space than 200 years Of course this is merely conjectural, but it would require a greater stretch of imagination to account for the production in a smaller number of years *of that mass of Brāhmanic literature* which still exists, or is known to have existed" p 497 "I therefore fix the probable chronological limits of the Mantra period between 800 and 1000 B C" [Where is the least probability of this date?] p 572 "The chronological limits assigned to the Sutra and Brāhmana periods will seem to most Sanskrit scholars too narrow rather than too wide, and if we assign but 200 years to the Mantra period from 800 to 1000 B C, and an equal number to the Chhandas period, from 1000 to 1200 B C, we can do so only under the supposition that during the early periods of history the growth of the human mind was more luxuriant than in later times, and that the layers of thought were formed less slowly in the primary than in the tertiary ages of the world"— But is 1200 B C a primary age of the world, except in biblical geology?

a "remarkable' passage of this Vedānga, in which the then place of the colures is stated, continues (M E vol i p 109, or As Res viii p 493) "Hence it is clear that Dhanishthā and Asleshā are the constellations meant, and that when this Hindu calendar was regulated, the solstitial points were reckoned to be at the beginning of the one, and in the middle of the other and such was the situation of those cardinal points, in the *fourteenth century before the Christian era* I formerly (As Res vii p 283, or Essays, i p 201) had occasion to show from another passage of the Vedas, that the correspondence of seasons with months, as there stated, and as also suggested in the passage now quoted from the Jyotisha, agrees with such a situation of the cardinal points"

We have evidence, therefore, from this passage of the Jyotisha, that an arrangement of Vaidika hymns must have been completed in the fourteenth century before Christ, and as such an arrangement cannot have preceded the origin of the hymns comprised by it, we have evidence that these hymns do not belong to a more recent date Nor is there any ground for doubting the genuineness of this calendar, or for assuming that the Hindu astronomers, when it was written, had knowledge enough to forge a combination, or if they had, that, in the habit of dealing with millions of years, they would have used this knowledge for the sake of forging an antiquity of a few hundred years Yet the oldest hymns of the Rgveda are, according to Muller's opinion, not older than 1200 before Christ

He has not only not invalidated the passage I have quoted, but he has not even made mention of it Yet a scholar like Colebrooke, laid, as I have shown great stress on it it is he who calls it "remarkable," and scholars like Wilson and Lassen have based their conclusions on Colebrooke's words [81] Should we, therefore, be satisfied with the absolute silence of Muller on *the statements and* opinions *of these distinguished scholars*, or account for it by the words of his preface ? [82]

81 See Lassen's "Indische Alterthumskunde,' I p 747 Wilson's Introduction to his Translation of the Rgveda, vol I p xlviii

82 Page vi "Believing, as I do, that literary controversy is more

No one, indeed, to the best of my knowledge, has ever doubted the accuracy of Colebrooke's calculation, but Professor Weber, who, in his "Indische Studien," vol i p 85, thus expresses himself —" I avail myself of this opportunity to observe that before Colebrooke's astronomical calculation (M E i p 110, 201) has been examined once more, astronomically, and found correct, I cannot make up my mind, to assign to the present Jyotiḥ-Śāstras, the composition of which betrays— in language and style— a recent period, any historical importance whatever for the fixing of the time when the Vedas were composed" Thus it seems that Professor Weber would make up his mind to that effect if some one would comply with his desire, and confirm the result of Colebrooke's calculation But, we must ask, on what ground rests this desire, which, in other words, is nothing but a very off-hand slur aimed at Colebrooke's scholarship or accurcay? Is Colebrooke *a third-rate writer, to deserve this supercilious treatment* ? Has he, in his editions or translations of texts, taken such liberties as to forfeit our confidence ? Has he falsified antiquity by substituting for its traditions his own foregone conclusions or ignorance ? Has he appropriated to himself the labour of others, or meddled with subjects he did not thoroughly understand ? His writings, one would think, prove that he is a type of accuracy and conscientiousness,—an author in whom even unguarded expressions are of the rarest kind, much more so, errors or hasty conclusions drawn from erroneous facts But Colebrooke was not only a distinguished Sanskritist, he was an excellent astronomer Lassen calls him the profoundest judge in matters of Hindu astronomy, [83] and he is looked upon as such by common

apt to impede than to advance the cause of truth, I have throughout carefully abstained from it Where it seemed necessary to controvert unfounded statements or hasty conclusions, I have endeavoured to do so by stating the true facts of the case, and the legitimate conclusions that may be drawn *from these facts* "

83 "Indische Alterth" vol I p 824 " Ueber die Fortschritte der Inder in der Astronomie in der altesten Zeit drückt sich *der grundlichste Kenner des Gegenstandes* (Colebrooke, a a O II p 447) auf folgende Weise aus, etc "

consent Yet, to invalidate the testimony of a scholar of his learning and character, *Professor Weber, simply because a certain* date does not suit his taste, and because his feelings, unsupported by any evidence, make him suppose that the Jyotisha "betrays in language and style a very recent period," has nothing to say but that he "will not make up his mind" to take that date for any good until somebody shall have examined that which Colebrooke had already examined, and, by referring to it, had relied upon as an established fact!

It is but just to add, that three or seven years after he had administered this singular lesson to Colebrooke, Weber once more is haunted by the asterisms Dhanishthā and Aśleshā, and once more rejects their evidence as to Hindu antiquity[84] This time, however, it is no longer the accuracy of Colebrooke's statement which inspires his doubt — he passes it over in silence altogether — but the origin of the arrangement of the Hindu *Nakshatras* "Since," he says, "the latter was not made by the Hindus themselves, but borrowed from the Chaldeans, it is obvious that no conclusion whatever can be drawn from it respecting Hindu antiquity"[85] But he does not mention that Lassen, whose opinion will have, I assume, as much claim to notice as his own, had adduced weighty reasons for assigning the Hindu *Nakshatras* to Chinese origin, and had likewise, referring to the Veda-calendar, observed —"As it is certain now that there existed in ancient times an intercourse, not thought of hitherto, between the Hindus and the Chinese, and that, with the latter, the use of the *sieu* ascends to a far higher antiquity, no objection can be founded on the Chinese origin of the *Nakshatras*, against their having been used by the Hindus at a time which is adverted to in their oldest astronomical observations on record These observations belong to the fourteenth century B C, and it results from them that the Hindus at that period dwelt in the northern part of India"[86]

84 In an essay on "Die Verbindungen Indiens mit den Landern im Westen," written in April, 1853, and printed in the "Indische Skizzen," 1857

85 "Indische Skizzen" p 73, note

86 "Indische Alterthumskunde," vol I p 747

But, strange to remark, a year after having expressed his repeated doubt, Professor Weber records his poetical views on the earliest period of Hindu civilisation in the following manner —"From the Kabul river to the Sadānirā, from the remotest point of the western to that of the eastern border of India, there are twenty degrees, three hundred geographical miles, which had to be conquered (by the Āryas) one after the other Thus we are able to claim, without any further remark, 1000 years as a minimum time for the period of occupying, subjecting to complete cultivation, and brāhmanising this immense tract of land, and thus we are brought back to about 1500 B C as the time when the Indian Āryas still dwelt on the Kabul, and after they commenced to extend themselves over India " [87]

In short, with fantastical certainty he scruples about astronomical facts, and presents fantastical facts with astronomical certainty I doubt whether this critical method will strengthen the faith of the general public in certain results of Sanskrit philology

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"If we succeed," says Professor Müller (p 215), "in fixing the relative age of any one of these Sūtrakāras, or writers of Sūtras, we shall have fixed the age of a period of literature which forms a transition between the Vaidika and the classical literature of India " This inference does not seem conclusive, for neither can the age of one individual author be held sufficient to fix the extent of a period which, according to Müller's own views, may embrace, at least, 400 years, and probably more, nor has Muller shown that the older portions of the Mahābhārata and, perhaps, the Rāmāyana, might not have co-existed with some, at least of the authors of his Sūtra period He says, it is true, in the commencement of his work (p 68) —"Now it seems that the regular and continuous Anushtubh-śloka* is a metre unknown during the Vaidika age, and every work written in it

87 "Die neuern Forschungen über das alte Indien Ein Vortrag im berliner wissenschaftlichen Verein gehalten am 4 März, 1854,' printed in the "Indische Skizzen," 1857, p 14

* It contains eight syllables in every quarter of the stanza

may at once be put down as post-Vaidika It is no valid objection that this epic Śloka occurs also in Vaidika hymns, that Anushtubh verses are frequently quoted in the Brāhmanas, and that, in some of the Sūtras, the Anushtubh-śloka occurs intermixed with Trishtubhs,† and is used for the purpose of recapitulating what had been explained before in prose For it is only the *uniform* employment of that metre which constitutes the characteristic mark of a new period of literature" But this very important assertion, even with its last restriction, is left by him without any proof For, when he adds, in a note (p 69), "It is remarkable that in Pānini also, the word *śloka* is always used in opposition to Vaidika literature (Pān IV 2, 66, IV 3, 102, v 1, IV 3, 107)," I must observe, in the first place, that in none of these quotations does the word *Śloka* belong to Pānini [88] The first of these instances, where *Śloka* occurs, cannot be traced to a higher antiquity than that of Patañjali, the second, which coincides with it, occurs in the commentary of the late Kāsikā on a Vārttika, the antiquity of which rests on the authority of this work, and, in the last quoted rule, the word *Sloka* likewise belongs to no other authority than that of the same late commentary But, in the second place, it seems to me that these very instances may be used to prove exactly the reverse of Muller's views

I should quite admit the expediency of his observation if its object had been to lay down a criterion by which a class of works might become recognisable There is, however, clearly,

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† It is a metre which contains twelve syllables in a quarter

88 The quotation of Muller's note to his p 69 are IV 1, 66,7 instead of IV 2, 66, and IV 3, 103, 1, instead of IV 3, 142, v 1, but as the word *śloka* neither occurs in the Sūtra, nor in the Vārttika nor in the commentaries on the former quotations, I was probably right in assuming that they were errors of the press and in substituting for them the figures given, which are the nearest approach to them There is indeed one Sūtra of Pānini where *śloka* and *mantra* are mentioned together, viz, the Sūtra III 2, 23, but I am not aware that any conclusion similar to that mentioned above could be drawn from it

a vast difference between an external mark, concerning the *contents* of certain writings, and the making of such a mark a basis for computing *periods* of literature For, when Patañjali or the Kāśikā, in illustrating the rules IV 2, 66, or IV 3, 102, says that a Vaidika composition of *Tittiri* is called *Taittiriya*, but that such a derivative would not apply to the Ślokas composed by Tittiri, they distinctly contrast the two kinds of composition, but they as distinctly state that the same personage was the author of both And the same author, of course, can not belong to two different *periods* of literature, separated, as Muller suggests, from one another by at least several centuries The same remark applies to the instance by which the Kāśikā exemplifies the import of the rule IV 3, 107, it contrasts here the Vaidika work with the Ślokas of the same author, *Caraka*

But I will give some other instances, which, in my opinion, corroborate the doubt I have expressed as to the chronological bearing of this word Kātyāyana, who is assigned by Muller to the Sūtra period, and rightly so, so far as the character of some of his works is concerned, is the author of *Ślokas* which are called *Bhrāja*, "the Splendid" *This fact is drawn from* Patañjali's commentary on Pānini and Kaiyyata's gloss on *Patañjali (p 23 and 24 of Dr Ballantyne's valuable edition)* [89] Now, the word Śloka, if used in reference to whole works, always implies the Anushtubh-śloka thus Müller himself properly calls the laws of Manu, Yājñavalkya, and Parāśara, "Śloka-works" (p 86) It would seem, therefore, that the *Bhrāja-Ślokas* of Kātyāyana were such a work in *continuous* Anushtubhs A second instance is the *Karmapradipa*, which is a work of the same Kātyāyana, and is mentioned as such by Müller himself (p 235) on the authority of Shadguruśishya, it is written in the "regular and continuous Anushtubh-śloka," as every one may ascertain from the existing MS copies of *this work* *Vyādi* or *Vyāli*, who *is an earlier authority than*

89 Patañjali (p 23): क्व पुनरिदं पठितम् । भ्राजा नाम श्लोकाः —Kaiyyata (p 24) कात्यायनोपनिबद्धभ्राजाख्यश्लोकमध्यपठितस्य तस्य श्रुतिरनुग्राहिकास्ति । एकः शब्दः सुज्ञातः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवतीति—Nagojibhatta (p 23) भ्राजा नाम कात्यायनप्रणीताः श्लोका इत्याहुः ।

Kātyāyana (see Muller s History, p 241) composed a work *Sangraha*, or "Compendium" in one hundred thousand Ślokas, and there can be little doubt that this information, which is given by Nāgojibhatta, applies to a work in the *continuous* Anushtubh verse [90] And this very *Vyādi*, I may here state, will thereafter become of peculiar interest to us on account of his near relationship to Pānini It is evident, therefore, that the "uniform employment of that metre" is not a criterion necessitating the relegation of a work written in it to a period more recent than 200 before Christ

The "writer of *Sūtra* which, in Muller's opinion, may help us to fix the whole period of the Sūtra literature, is KĀTYĀYANA and if I do not mistake his meaning, PĀNINI too For Muller arrives at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived about 350 B C, and, if I am right, that Pānini was his contemporaTry [91] he

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90 Patañjali (ed Ballantyne, p 43) सम्रह् एतत्प्राधा येन परीक्षितम्— Kaiyyaṭa - सम्रह् इति । ग्रन्थविशेषे—Nāgojibhatta सम्रहो व्याडिकृतो लक्षश्लो - सख्यो ग्रन्थ इति प्रसिद्ध — This remark concerns the use which is made of the word Śloka in reference to whole, especially extensive, works *Single verses*, not of the Anushtubh class, are sometimes also called Ślokas, thus Kaiyyaṭa calls so the '*Āryā*[1] verse of the Kārikā to II 4, 85, or IV 4, 9, etc , or the *Dodhaka*[2] verses of the Kārikās to VI 4, 12, or VIII 2, 108 , and Nāgojibhaṭa gives the name of Sloka to the *Indravajrā*[3] and *Upendravajrā*[4] of the Kārikā to I I 38 , but I know of no instance in which a whole work written in such verses is simply spoken of as having been written in Ślokas

91 I regret that I am not able to refer with greater certainty to Muller's view on their contemporaneousness In page 138 he writes "Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pānini ," p 245 "Now, if Pānini lived in the middle of the fourth century B C., etc' [this is the date which Muller assigns to Kātyāyana] p 303 , 'the old Kātyāyana

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1 यस्या पादे प्रथमे द्वादश मात्रास्तथा तृतीयेऽपि ।
अष्टादश द्वितीये चतुर्थके पञ्चदश सार्या ॥

2 दोधकवृत्तमिद भभभाद्गौ ।

3 स्यादिन्द्रवज्रा यदि तौ जगौ ग ।

4 उपेन्द्रवज्रा तु जतौ जगौ ग ।

reason for assigning this date to Kātyāyana is contained in the following passage of the "Ancient Sanskrit Literature" — "Let us consider," says Muller, after having established the identity of Kātyāyana and Kātyāyana Vararuchi (p 240 ff) "the

Vararuchi, the contemporary of Pānini," but at p. 184 he says "at the time of Kātyāyana, if not at the time of Pānini"— which cleary implies that he here considers Pānini's time as prior to Kātyāyana's, since Kātyāyana wrote a critical work on Pānini, the Vārttikas, and on p 44, 45 he observes "if, then, Āsvalāyana can be shown to have been a contemporary, or at least an immediate successor of Pānini, etc," but p 239 "we should have to admit at least five generations of teachers and pupils first, Śaunaka, after him, Āsvalāyana, in whose favour Śaunaka is said to have destroyed one of his works, thirdly, Kātyāyana, who studied the works both of Śaunaka and Āsvalāyana, fourthly, Patañjali, who wrote a commentary on one of Kātyāyana's works, and lastly, Vyāsa, who commented on a work of Patañjali It does not follow that Kātyāyana was a pupil of Āsvalāyara or that Patañjali lived immediately *after Kātyāyana, but the smallest interval which we can admit* between every two of these names is that between teacher and pupil, an interval as large as that between father and son, or rather larger" Now, if according to the first alternative of p 45, Āsvalāyana was a contemporary of Pānini, the latter becomes a doubtful contemporary of Kātyāyana, according to the quotation from p 239, and if, according to the other alternative of p 45, Āsvalāyana was a successor of Pānini, there is according to p 239, still a greater probability that Pānini and Kātyāyana were not contemporaries Again, at p 230, he says "from *all these indications we should naturally be led to expect that* the relation between Śaunaka and Kātyāyana was very intimate, that both belonged to the same Śākhā, and that Śaunaka was anterior to Kātyāyana" But if Āsvalāyana is an *immediate* successor of Pānini (p 45), and an *immediate* successor of Śaunaka (p 239), Pānini and Śaunaka must be contemporaries, and if Śaunaka is anterior to Kātyāyana (p 230, and comp p 242), Pānini, too, must have preceded Kātyāyana *Acting, therefore, on the rule of probabilities, and perceiving that* Müller three times distinctly calls Pānini a contemporary of Kātyāyana, and allows by inference only this date to be subverted two and a half times, it is fair to assume that he believed rather in the contemporaneousness of both, than otherwise The correctness of this belief I shall have

information which we receive about Kātyāyana Vararuchi from Brāhmanic sources Somadevabhatta of Kashmir collected the popular stories current in his time, and published them towards the beginning of the twelfth century under the title of Kathā-sarit-sāgara, the Ocean of the Rivers of Stories Here we read that Kātyāyana Vararuchi, being cursed by the wife of Śiva, was born at Kauśāmbī, the capital of Vatsa He was a boy of great talent, and extraordinary powers of memory He was able to repeat to his mother an entire play, after hearing it once at the theatre, and before he was even initiated he was able to repeat the Prātiśākhya which he had heard from Vyāli He was afterwards the pupil of Varsha, became proficient in all sacred knowledge, and actually defeated Pāṇini in a grammatical controversy By the interference of Śiva, however, the final victory fell to Pānini Kātyāyana had to appease the anger of Śiva, became himself a student of Pānini's Grammar, and completed and corrected it He afterwards is said to have become minister of King Nanda and his mysterious successor Yogananda at Pātaliputra

"We know that Kātyāyana completed and corrected Pānini's Grammar, such as we now possess it [92] His Vārttikas are supplementary rules, which show a more extensive and accurate knowledge of Sanskrit than even the work of Pānini The story of the contest between them was most likely intended as a mythical way of explaining this fact Again, we know that Kātyāyana was himself the author of the Prātiśākhyas, and

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to make the subject of further discussion, but when I find myself compelled to infer from Müller's expressions that Pānini is, to him, a contemporary of Saunaka, I must in passing, observe that Pānini himself repudiates this conclusion, for in the Sūtra IV 3, 106, which is intimately connected with IV 3, 105, Pānini speaks of Śaunaka as of an *ancient* authority

92 Note of Muller "The same question with regard to the probable age of Pānini, has been discussed by Prof Böhtlingk in his edition of Pānini Objections to Prof Boehtlingk s arguments have been raised by Prof Weber in his Indische Studien See also Rg veda, Leipzig, 1857, Introduction '

Vyāli is quoted by the authors of the Prātiśākhyas as an earlier authority on the same subject So far the story of Somadeva agrees with the account of Shadguruśishya and with the facts as we still find them in the works of Kātyāyana It would be wrong to expect in a work like that of Somadeva historical and chronological facts in the strict sense of the word, yet the mention of King Nanda, who is an historical personage, in connection with our grammarian may, if properly interpreted, help to fix approximately the date of Kātyāyana and his predecessors, *Śaunaka and Āsvalāyana If Somadeva followed the* same chronological system as his contemporary and countryman Kalhana Pandita, the author of the Rājatarangini or History of Kashmir, he would, in calling Pānini and Kātyāyana the contemporaries of Nanda and Chandragupta, have placed them *long before the times which we are wont to call historical* But the name of Chandragupta fortunately enables us to check the extravagant systems of Indian chronology Chandragupta, of Pātaliputra, the successor of the Nandas, is Sandrocottus, of Palibothra, to whom Megasthenes was sent as ambassador from Seleucus Nicator, and, if our classical chronology is right, he must have been king at the turning point of the fourth and third centuries B C *We shall have to examine hereafter the* different accounts which the Buddhists and *Brāhmanas* give of *Chandragupta and his relation to the preceding dynasty of the* Nandas Suffice it for the present that, if Chandragupta was king in 315, Kātyāyana may be placed, according to our interpretation of Somadeva s story, in the second half of the fourth century B C We may disregard the story of Somadeva, which actually makes Kātyāyana *himself minister of* Nanda, and thus would make him an old man at the time of Chandragupta's accession to the throne This is, according to its own showing, a mere episode in a ghost story,[93] and had to be inserted in order to connect Kātyāyana's story with other fables of the Kathā-sarit-sāgara But there still remains this one fact, how-

93 Note of Müller "According to the southern Buddhists it was Chandragupta, and not Nanda, whose corpse was reanimated. As Res. xx p 167"

ever slender it may appear, that, as late as the twelfth century A D, the popular tradition of the *Brāhmanas* connected the famous grammarians Kātyāyana and Pānini with that period of their history which immediately preceded the rise of Chandrgupta and his Śūdra dynasty, and this, from an European point of view, we must place in the second half of the fourth century B C"

Thus, the whole foundation of Muller's date rests on the authority of Somadeva, the author of "an Ocean of [or rather, *for*] the Rivers of Stories," who narrated his tales in the twelfth century after Christ Somadeva, I am satisfied, would, not be a little surprised to learn that "a European point of view" raises a "ghost story" of his to the dignity of an historical document Muller himself, as we see, says that it would be "wrong to expect in a work of this kind "historical or chronological facts," he is doubtful as to the date which might have been in Somadeva's mind when he speaks of King Nanda, he will "disregard' the fact that Kātyāyana becomes, in the tale quoted, a minister of Nanda, he admits that a story current in the middle of the 12th century about Kātyāyana and Pānini is but a "slender' fact, — in short, he pulls down every stone of this historical fabric, and yet, because Nanda is mentioned in this amusing tale, he '*must*' place Kātyāyana s life about 350 B C

I have but one word to add however correct the criticisms of Muller on the value of this tale may be, the strength of his conclusion would have become still more apparent than it is now, if instead of the abstract of the story, which he has given, a literal translation of it had preceded his premises, for the very form of the tale, and its incidental absurdities, would have illustrated, much better than his sober account of it, its value as a source of chronology I subjoin, therefore, a portion of it, from the fourth chapter of this work Kātyāyana, the grammatical saint and author of the Kalpa sūtras, after having told Kānabhūti how once upon a time he became enamoured of a beautiful damsel, by what feelings he was moved, and that he at last married the fair Upakośā, continues as follows

"Some time after, Varsha (who in another tale is said to have lived at Pātaliputra during the reign of Nanda) had a great number of pupils One of them was a *great blockhead, by the name of Pānini* he, tired of the service, was sent away by the wife of Varsha To do penance, he went, grieved yet desirous of knowledge, to the Himālaya, there he obtained from Śiva, who was pleased with his fierce austerities, a new grammar which was the introduction to all science Now he came back and challenged me to a disputation, and seven days passed on while our disputation proceeded When on the eighth day, however, he was defeated by me, instantly Śiva (appeared) in a cloud (and) raised a tremendous uproar Thus my grammar, which had been given to me by Indra, was destroyed on earth, and we all, vanquished by Pānini, became fools again"

It is almost needless for me to state, that the *profound* researches of Dr Otto Boehtlingk in his '*commentary*' on Pānini, are based on the same interesting "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," and have duly advocated the same date of Pānini s life But as we have become alredy acquainted with the *reasoning* of the "*editor*" of Pānini, it will not appear devoid of interest to recall his arguments, which differ in several respects from those of Professor Muller In the Rājatarangini, the Chronicle of Kashmir, he says (p xv), we read that Abhimanyu ordered Chandra and other grammarians to introduce the great commentary of Patañjali into Kashmir Now, continues he (p xvii), "the age of King Abhimanyu, under whose reign Chandra lived, can be ascertained by various ways, which all lead to the same result," viz, to the date 100 B C and (p xviii) "since we have found that Patañjali's Mahābhāshya came into general use in Kashmir through Chandra, about 100 B C, we are probably justified in pushing the composition of this great commentary to the Sūtras of Pānini, into the year 150 Between Patañjali and Pānini there are still three grammarians known to us, as we have observed before (p xiv, viz, Kātyāyana, the author of the Paribhāshās, and the author of the Kārikās), who made contributions to the Grammar of Pānini We need therefore only make a space of fifty years

between each couple of them, in order to arrive at the year 350, into the neighbourhood of which date our grammarian is to be placed, according to the Kathā-sarit sāgara

"Every way," says the French proverb, "leads to Rome,"— but not every way leads to truth, even in chronology There is one way, for instance, and it was the proper way, which led Professor Lassen[94] to the correct result that Abhimanyu did not live about 100 B C, but between 40 and 65 after Christ As to the triad of grammarians which is "known' to Dr. Boehtlingk between Pānini and Patañjali, and represented to his mind by Kātyāyana, and what he calls *the* author of the Paribhāshās and *the* author of the Kārikās, I must refer to my subsequent statements, which will show the worth of this specious enumeration But when Dr Boehtlingk required 200 years between Patañjali and Pānini simply to square his account with the "Ocean for the Rivers of Stories," it would be wrong to deny that he has rightly divided 200 by 4, nor should I doubt that he would have managed with less ability the more difficult task of dividing 2000 or 20000 years by 4, if such an arithmetical feat had been required of him by that source of historical chronology, the Kathā-sarit-sāgara

Professor Muller must have had some misgivings like my own as to the critical acumen and accuracy of Dr Boehtlingk's investigations For, in the first instance, he does not start from the Kathā sarit sāgara in order to arrive at the conclusion that Kātyāyana lived fifty years after Pānini, on the contrary, he makes, as we have seen, both grammarians contemporaries, judging, no doubt, that two men who enjoyed a very substantial fight cannot have lived at different times, even in a story book. Then he adverts likewise (p 243) to the little mistake of Dr Boehtlingk concerning Abhimanyu s date, in short, he denies the validity of all the arguments alleged by Dr Boehtlingk, save those which are founded on the Kathā-sarit-sāgara When therefore he, nevertheless, says (p 301) that the researches of Professor Boehtlingk "with regard to the age of Pānini deserve the highest credit," I am at a loss to understand this handsome

94 "Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II p 413

compliment, even though it strengthen his assurance (p 310) "that Kātyāyana's date is as safe as any date is likely to be in ancient Oriental chronology"[95]

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95 In reply to this compliment, Dr Boehtlingk makes the following bow "Alles was zur Entscheidung dieser Frage beitragen *konnte*, finden wir auf das sorgfältigste zusammengestellt und erwogen in einem so eben erchienenen Werke von Max Müller, einem Werke, in welchem uberraschende Belesenheit, Scharfsinn und geistreiche Behandlung des Stoffes den Leser in beständiger Spannung erhalten," *i e*, "All that can contribute to the solution of this question—(viz, that of the introduction of writing into India) we find put together and examined in the most careful manner, in a work by Max Müller, just published, a work in which surprising acquaintance with the literature, acuteness and ingenious treatment of the subject-matter, never suffer the reader's attention to flag" The testimonial he thus gratuitously gives to his own knowledge of "all that can contribute to the solution of that question," reached me too late to be noticed in the previous pages, as they were already in the press, it is contained in a paper of his, having the title "Ein Paar Worte zur Frage uber das Alter der Schrift in Indien" These "few words' do not contain, indeed, a particle of fact bearing on the question, but much *reasoning*, of which the following concluding passage is the summary "Nach meinem Dafürhalten also wurde die Schrift zur *Verbreitung* der Literatur in den älteren Zeiten nicht verwandt, wohl aber wurde sie zum *Schaffen* neuer Werke zu Hülfe genommen Der Verfasser schrieb sein Werk nieder, lernte es aber dann auswendig oder liess es durch Andere memoriren Niedergeschriebene Werke wurden in der alteren Zeit whol selten von Neuem abgeschrieben, mögen aber im Original in der Familie als Heiligthümer aufbewahrt und geheim gehalten worden sein. Moglicher Weisa vernichtete aber auch der Autor sein Schriftwerk, sobald er dasselbe memorirt hatte, um nicht durch sein Beispiel Andere zu verleiten, um sich nicht des Vorwurfes einer Verrätherei an der Priesterkaste schuldig zu machen, vielleicht auch um nicht als gewohnlicher Autor, dem das Werk allmablich unter den Handen entsteht, zu erscheinen, sondern als ein inspirirter Seher, der, ohne alle Mühe und Anstrengung von seiner Seite beim Schaffen, ein Werk in abgeschlossener Gestalt im Geiste erschaut und als ein

That Sanskrit philology should not yet possess the means of ascertaining the date of Pānini's life, is, no doubt, a serious impediment to any research concerning the chronology of ancient Hindu works For Pānini s Grammar is the centre of a vast and important branch of the ancient literature No work has struck deeper roots than his in the soil of the scientific development of

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solcher von den Gottern Bevorzugter weiter verkündet, i e, "In my opinion, therefore, writing was not used in the olden times for the *propagation* of literature, but was resorted to for the *production* of new works The author wrote down his work, but then learnt it by heart, or made others commit it to memory Probably, works once written down, were not copied anew in the olden time, with rare exceptions, but the original manuscripts were perhaps preserved as sacred relics in the family, and kept secret But it is possible, too, that the author destroyed his written work, after he had committed it to memory, in order not to seduce others by his example, nor to make himself guilty of the reproach of treason towards the caste of priests, perhaps, too, not to appear as on ordinary author, whose work grew gradually under his hands, but an inspired seer who, without any labour and exertion in producing, had seen in his mind a work in a finished form, and, as a person thus favoured by the gods, had proclaimed it abroad"— This *reasoning* will not surprise us in the author of a "commentary on Pānini" (compare note 48 etc) Yet I must ask, whence he derived his information that it was treason towards the *Brāhmana* caste to write or to produce a manuscript? or whence he has learnt that an author could, in olden times, pass himself off as an inspired seer who was favoured by the gods, without, of course, being chastised by his countrymen, as an impostor? *Manu* XI 55, treats *false boasting*—अनृत समुत्कर्षे— as a crime equal to that of killing a *Brāhmana*, and *Yājñavalkyḁ*, III 229, places it on the same level with the drinking of spirituous liquors, which crime is expiated only after the sinner has drunk either boiling spirits, or boiling butter, cow's urine, or milk, until he dies (III 253) Veracity, moreover, is known to be one of the principal features of the character of the ancient Hindus, as, in the epic legends, a word spoken, or a promise made, is always deemed irrevocable and binding It is notorious that the Hindu authorities did not look upon any one as an inspired seer, except the author of a Mantra, and, probably, at a more recent

India It is the standard of accuracy in speech,—the grammatical basis of the Vaidika commentaries It is appealed to by every scientific writer whenever he meets with a linguistic difficulty Besides the inspired seers of the works which are the root of Hindu belief, Pānini is the only one among those authors of scientific works who may be looked upon as real personages, who is a Rshi in the proper sense of the word,—an author supposed to have had the foundation of his work revealed to him by a divinity [96]

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period, of a Brāhmana The Kalpa works were never considered to be anything but human productions, and I know only of one instance, viz, that of Pānini, where the author of a scientific work was supposed to have received it from a divinity —In other words, to the mind of Dr Boehtlingk the whole of the ancient scientific literature of India presents a picture of a gigantic swindle and imbecility, on the one side are the charlatans who write works, learn them by heart, and burn the manuscripts, in order to appear in direct communication with a divinity, on the other, is the idiotic nation which believes that the learned quacks are inspired seers favoured by the gods! It is not a little characteristic, but at the same time very intelligible, that this should be the view of the "*editor*" of Pānini

96 Patañjali frequently, therefore, makes use of the expression, "Pānini *sees*," when an ordinary author is quoted by him as "saying" or the like; *e g*, p 148 (in Dr Ballantyne's edition) पश्यति त्वाचार्यो नाकारस्थस्यान्तो लोपो भवतीति, or p 246, पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति, p 281, पश्यति त्वाचार्यो न सिच्यन्तरङ्गं भवतीति, p 615, पश्यति त्वाचार्यः स्थानिवदादेशो भवतीति, p 787, पश्यति त्वाचार्यस्तदेकदेशभूतं तद्ग्रहणेन गृह्यत इति etc; but p 658, वक्ष्यति ह्याचार्यः (viz. Kātyāyana, in his Vārttikas to VI 4, 104) । चिणो लुकि तग्रहणानर्थक्यं संघातस्याप्रत्ययत्वात्तलोपस्य चासिद्धत्वादिति etc —For the same reason, when Kaiyyata, for instance, speaks of "the author of the Sūtras," viz Pānini, Nāgojibhatta explains this expression with "*Siva*," who revealed to Pānini the first fourteen Sūtras; *e g* p 86, सूत्रकारो महेश्वरः । वेदपुरुषो वा, or when *Kaiyyata calls Pānini*, *Āchārya*, Nāgojibhatta says (p 120) शिवो वेदपुरुषो वात्राचार्य, or p 197, आचार्य शिव Of the first fourteen, or the Śivasūtras, Nāgojibhatta says that they existed *from eternity*, while Pānini made the rest (p 763 ed Ballantyne) नित्यत्वमनादित्वादेषां पाणिनिकृतत्वात् etc

Yet, however we may regret the necessity of leaving this important personage in the chaos which envelopes the historical existence of all ancient Hindu celebrities, it is better to acknowledge this necessity than attach faith to a date devoid of real substance and resting on no trustworthy testimony For, in doing so, we may feel induced to direct our efforts towards an investigation more likely to lead to a solid result,—I mean the investigation of the *internal evidence* afforded by the ancient literature—as to the position of Pāṇini relatively to the works which are its chief representatives If we could succeed in establishing this position, or, at least, in determining the critical means by which this end could be obtained, future research into the chronology of Sanskrit literature would have, at least, some ground to build upon, as well as a test by which to recognise the place that may be allotted to many important works within the structure raised

In making an attempt in this direction, we feel our immediate interest naturally engaged by the question whether Pāṇini and Kātyāyana (the author of the Vārttikas), were in reality contemporaries or not, whatever be the age at which they lived As a substantial record of these Vārttikas is met with in no other work than the "Great Commentary" of Patañjali, it will first be necessary for us to examine the literature embodied or alluded to, in the Mahābhāshya, so far as it bears on this inquiry, in order to ascertain what portion of this literature is anterior to Kātyāyana, and what portion belongs to his own authorship We may consult for this purpose, Kaiyyata, the principal commentator on Patañjali, but we need not descend to the recent period of the, Kāśikā, the Siddhānta-kaumudī, the commentaries of Nāgeśa, Purushottama, or other Vrttis and Tīkās, for all these works are at too great a distance from the period of Patañjali to assist us in the solution of our problem

Of the grammatical writers named by the author of the Mahābhāshya, we pass over those which are quoted by Pāṇini himself, as by his testimony we are enabled at once to assign

to them an existence prior to his Grammar[97] We may pass over, too, those authorities to whom Patañjali adverts when he speaks of a "Sūtra of the former" grammarians, [98] for such an expression on his part invariably refers to Pānini's Sūtras, and the substance of the opinions or rules of these "former" grammarians must equally, therefore, have preceded Pānini's work, and, *consequently the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana.*

The first category of writings deserving our notice here will therefore be those Vārttikas and grammatical dicta which are quoted by Patañjali in relation to Kātyāyana's own Vārttikas As authors of such writings we meet, for instance, with the grammarians of the school of the *Bhāradvājiyas* and *Saunāgas* with *Kunaravādava Vādava,* who is perhaps the same as this grammarian, with *Sauryabhagavat* with *Kuni* who is spoken of by Kaiyyata as a predecessor of Patañjali, and an indefinite number of grammarians who are introduced to us under the general designation of "some" or "others" [99] Whether the

97 These authors are Āpisali, Kāsyapa, Gārgya, Gālava, Chākravarmana, Bhāradvāja, Sākatāyana, Sākalya, Senaka, Sphotāyana, and those designated by the collective appellation of eastern and northern grammarians These names have been correctly mentioned by Dr Boehtlingk, vol. II p lii—v

98 Kaiyyata calls them पूर्वाचार्या or the "former teachers," *e g* in his comment on the third Śivasūtra *on I 1 4, V 2, 39, VI 1, 6,* etc The word पूर्वसूत्र *which in the sense given is* a Tatpurusha, the former part of which is to be understood in the sense of a genitive, occurs *e g* in the Bhāshya to VII 1 18, compare also note 46 —And the authorities quoted by Patañjali, under the name of आचार्या, are probably also meant as "older grammarians," *e g* in his gloss on the fifth Śivasūtra, on I 1, 1 and 2, 18, etc

99 The *Bhārdvājīyas* are quoted several times in the Bhāshya, and in the Calc ed *four* times, viz III 1, 89, v 1, IV 1,79, v 1, VI 4, 47, v 1, and 155, v 1 —The *Saunāgas* are mentioned there to II 2, 18, v 1—4, VI 3, 44, v 1, and VII 2, 17, the latter quotation, however, does not occur in the Bhāshya —*Kunaravādava* is mentioned in the Bhāshya to VII 3, 1, v 6, *Vādava* and *Sauryabhagavat* to VIII 2, 106 v 3, *Kuni* in Kaiyyata's gloss on I 1, 75, where he says that Patañjali follows,

latter term comprise the grammarians just named, or other authorities, we cannot infer from the words of Patañjali, probably, however, we are justified in deciding for the latter alternative, since Patañjali is a writer who chooses his words deliberately, and would scarcely have quoted his authority at one time by name, and at another by a general term which does not imply that great respect entertained for a high authority But, whatever view we take of the matter,—setting aside those grammarians quoted by Patañjali, who will require some additional remark before we can establish their relation to Kātyāyana—we may see that all that are named must have lived before Patañjali, and after Kātyāyana since all their Vārttikas or remarks, recorded by Patañjali are criticisms on, and emendations of, the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana[100] Of

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in the words referred to the opinion of *Kuni* (Kaiyyata कुणिना प्राग्ग्रहणमाचार्यनिर्देशार्थम् । भाष्यकारस्तु कुणिदर्शनमशिश्रियत्) Some of these quotations are given by Dr Boehtlingk, vol II pp iv li The phrase "अपर आह" is of frequent occurrence in the Bhāshya, *e g* to the second Siva-sūtra to I 1, 10, 2, 50 51, II 2, 24, 3, 66, III 1, 27 112 123, 2, 109 123 etc or कश्चिद्वैयाकरण आह *e g* II 4, 56, अन्ये वैयाकरणा *e g* I 1, 27, केचित् *e g*, VIII 2, 80 (केचित् एके), अपरे *e g* I 1, 1 and 2, III, 2, 123, and four sets of grammarians are contrased by Patañjali in his comment on III 2, 115 कथंजातीयक पुन परोक्ष नाम । केचित्तावदाहु । वर्षशतवृत्त परोक्षमिति । अपर आहु । वर्षसहस्रवृत्त परोक्षमिति । अपर आहु । कुड्यकटान्तरित परोक्षमिति । अपर आहु द्व्यहवृत्त त्र्यहवृत्त वेति ।

100 A few instances will bear out this conclusion. Kātyāyana's third Vārttika to II 2, 18 runs thus सिद्ध तु क्राङ्स्वतिदुर्गतिवचनात् , and his fourth प्रादय क्तार्थे (omitted in the Calc ed) After having explained both, Patañjali adds एतदेव च सौनागैर्विस्तरतरकेण पठितम् and quotes the four Vārttikas of the Saunāgas as given in the Calc edition, Kaiyyata is even more explicit on this occasion, for he says एतदेवेति । कात्यायनाभिप्रायमेव प्रदर्शयितु सौनागैरतिविस्तरेण पठितमित्यर्थ —The Vārttika of Kātyāyana to I 1, 20 reads घुसंज्ञाया प्रकृतिग्रहण शिदर्थम् , but, says Patañjali, the Bhāradvājīyas read it otherwise भारद्वाजीया पठन्ति । घुसंज्ञाया प्रकृतिग्रहण शिद्विकृतार्थम्, which last compound contains an important improvement on the rule of Kātyāyana —The latter enlarges Pānini's

Patañjali's *Ishtis* or "desiderata," which are his own additions

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rule III 1, 89, by this Vārttika यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे हेतुमण्णिश्रिब्रूञामुपसंख्यानम् , but, says Patañjali after his explanation of it, भारद्वाजीया पठन्ति । यक्चिणोः प्रतिषेधे णिश्रन्थिग्रन्थिब्रूञात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् which version of the Bhāradvājīyas is a distinct criticism on Kātyāyana —His two Vārttikas on VI 4, 155 are the following णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य and पुंवद्भावरभावटिलोपयणादिपरार्थम्, but the Bhāradvājīyas improved them in this way (Patañjali भारद्वाजीया पठन्ति ।) णाविष्ठवत्प्रातिपदिकस्य पुंवद्भावरभावटिलोपयणादिपरप्रादिविन्मतोर्लुक्कन्विध्यर्थम् । The same Bhāradvājīyas, have criticised Pānini also, independently of Kātyāyana, for Patañjali, mentions at the Sūtra VI 4, 47 भ्रस्जो रोपधयो रमन्यतरस्याम्, their Vārttika भ्रस्जो रोपधयोर्लोप आगमो रमिष्यते The mere comparison of their Vārttikas and the passages quoted, will clearly show that these grammarians not only lived after Pānini, but also after Kātyāyana, and that they were engaged on the same task which was the object of Kātyāyana, viz, that of criticising Pānini Dr Boehtlingk, however, (vol II p iv)—when speaking of the Vārttikas of the Bhāradvājīyas and one Vārttika of the Āpiśalas, which improves Pānini Sūtra VII 3, 95, तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके in this manner तुरुस्तुशम्यमः सार्वधातुके छन्दसि (quoted by the Kāsikā *not* by Patañjali)—*draws from them the twofold conclusion*, "first, that the grammatical terminology of both predecessors of our grammarian (Pānini) was the same, partly at least (*dass die grammatische Terminologie bei den beiden Vorgangern unseres Grammatikers, zum Theil wenigstens, dieselbe gewesen ist*), and then, that their original works, in time, received similar emendations and additions as the grammar of Pānini" I know not by what logical process either of these conclusions could be extracted from these Vārttikas The passages quoted are obvious criticisms on Pānini and Kātyāyana,—and so are the other Vārttikas of the Bhāradvājīyas named by Patañjali There is not the slightest evidence afforded by these Vārttikas that they are in any connection whatever with works of Bhāradvāja and Āpiśali, and any *reasoning* concerning the latter becomes therefore without foundation Or do we find that in India all pupils and descendants are compelled to confine their writings or remarks to the works of their teachers and ancestors? and will their criticisms on these latter works turn out, by some marvellous process, to fit exactly the productions of other authors also?

to Kātyāyana's Vārttikas, I need not speak, since they are an essential portion of his own Great Commentary [101]

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101 It will probably be thought desirable that an editor should at least understand the title-page of the work which he is committing to the press, even when editing is merely tantamount to reprinting the labours of others, faults and all, but I fear that this much cannot be said of Dr Boehtlingk's *edition* of Pāṇini for, in translating the title-page of the Calcutta edition he renders इष्टि "*kārikā*" and justifies this version in the following note (vol II p xxxvii) "I take परिभाषेष्टि as a *dvandva* and इष्टि as synonymous with *kārikā*, because I should not like to miss these (the Kārikās) on the title" Thus, because the Calcutta Pandits, rightly or wrongly, did not say on the title-page of their edition that their compilation will comprise the *Kārikās*, but merely stated that it will give *Vārttikas, Gaṇas, Paribhāshās and Ishtis*, Dr Boehtlingk *reasons* that "since *he* does not like the omission of the Kārikās," *Ishti* is the same as *Kārikā* There is, indeed, nothing strange in this *reasoning* of Dr Boehtlingk, we have seen already some specimens of it, and if any one would take upon himself the ungrateful task of reviewing the second volume which he has annexed to his "*edition*" of Pāṇini, he would have to add a good many more of the same quality But if Dr Boehtlingk had chosen to consult, by letter or otherwise, the editors of his edition of Pāṇini, they would in all probability have told him that *ishti* means a "desideratum" and that *ishtis* emphatically so called, and not qualified otherwise (as Ishtis of the Kāsikā, etc), designate the *Vārttikas of Patañjali* They might, too, have referred him to the *Padachandrikāvritti*, which in the introduction plainly says इष्टयो भाष्यकारस्य, or to Nāgojibhatta, who when referring to the word इष्टि applied by Kaiyyata to the *Vārttika* (of Patañjali to I 1, 1, omitted in the edition) छन्दोवत्सूत्राणि भवन्ति comments इष्टिरिति । तथा च भाष्यकारीयातिदेशात्सूत्रेषु छन्दः कार्यप्रवृत्तिरिति भाव । But, for aught I know, they might have simply requested him to read their own edition, before, sending it to the printer, since they have themselves written the word भाष्यकारेष्टि, for instance, after a Vārttika to I 1, 9, or भाष्येष्टि after a Vārttika to I 1, 68, or the words इष्टिभाष्यकृत after a Vārttika to II 2, 28, and it is clear enough that in none of these instances can इष्टि be synonymous with कारिका

Another category of literary compositions, which are either entirely or partly embodied in the Mahābhāshya, are the *Kārikās*[102] To assign these verses to one author, would be as erroneous as to speak of one author of the Vārttikas[103] For, even the Calcutta edition of Pānini enables us to see, *at*

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102 It is almost superfluous to state that I merely speak of the *Kārikās* which are recorded by Patañjali Those belonging to Bhartrhari, who wrote a gloss on Patañjali (comp *e g* *Ganaratnamahodadhi* भर्तृहरि वाक्यपदीयकर्ता महाभाष्यव्याख्याता च, and my subsequent observations on the *Vākyapadīya*), as well as the Kārikās met with exclusively in the Kāśikā or Siddhānta kaumudī, can have no bearing on the present investigation

103 These assertions have nevertheless been made by Dr Boehtlingk, vol II p xiv, *where he states that 'between Pānini and Amarasinha there are still four grammarians* Kātyāyana, *the* author of the Paribhāshās, *the* author of the Kārikās, and Patañjali,' and p xviii xix, where he states that each couple of these grammarians may be separated from one another by a space of fifty years, he repeats, "as we have observed above (p xiv), there are between Patañjali and Pānini still three grammarians *known to us*, who made contributions to the grammar of Pānini" On page xlix, it is true, he says, "no doubt the Kārikās do not all belong to the same author, since the same subject is treated sometimes in two different Kārikās in a perfectly different manner,' but as he observed before that the Kārikās are "scattered in various grammars (*sic*), viz in the Mahābhāshya, the Kāśikā, the Padamañjarī, and the Kaumudī, and as two quotations which he adds in corroboration of his statement, viz VI 3, 109, and VII 2, 10, have reference to the Kāśikā and Siddhānta kaumudī only, we should be in fairness bound to conclude that, *in his opinion, it was the literary* period *after* Patañjali which produced this variety of authors of the Kārikās *Yet when he presents* us with a third quotation, viz "Calc ed p 274," which clearly points to the fact that there were different authors of Kārikās *at or before Patañjali's time*, it would be curious to learn how he reconciles this latter quotation with his previous statements at pages xiv and xix, according to which there is but *one* author of the Kārikās between Pānini and Patañjali, and a personage, too, who lived 50 years after the author of the Paribhāshās and 50 years before Patañjali ! Compare also the following note

first sight, in four instances, that they cannot be the work of the same author, and, besides these, two other instances of the same kind may be found in the "Great Commentary"[104]. But, to define the relation of these verses to Kātyāyana, it will not be sufficient simply to state that some of them embody the rules of Kātyāyana, while others deviate from them, and others again enlarge and criticise the Vārttikas[105] it will be necessary to describe the characteristic features of these Kārikās such as we find them in Patañjali's work

An external, but very important, mark is afforded by the circumstance that one portion of the Kārikās is left by Patañ-

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104 The Kārikās not met with in the Bhāshya are, usually, correctly marked in the Calcutta edition with the name of the work whence they have been taken, those not marked, are therefore, nearly always, recognisable in this edition as belonging to the Mahābhāshya That such Kārikās of the latter kind, to the same Sutra of Pāṇini, belong to different authors, is indicated in the Calc ed at I 4, 51 III 2, 123 (*p* 274) Iv 1, 44 and 63 From the Bhāshya we learn it *at first sight*, besides, in the two instances, I 2, 50,—where the words गोण्या इत्वम् etc are preceded by अपर आह—and VII 2, 58, where the latter words precede the Kārikā वेत्तेस्तु etc Compare the notes 107 108, 111

105 Three striking instances of the latter kind are the Kārikās to IV 2, 60, VIII 1, 69, and III 2, 118 The first occurs at the end of Patañjali's commentary on the Vārttikas of this Sūtra, is without comment, and contains, for the greater part, new matter, which is given in the shape of Vārttikas in the Siddhānta kaumudī It is omitted in the Calc ed and runs thus

अनुसूर्लक्ष्यलक्षणे सर्वसादेर्द्विगोश्च ल । इकन्पदोत्तरपदाच्छतषष्टे षिकन्पथ ॥

The Kārikā to VIII 1, 69 embodies the Vārttikas 1, 2, 3 to the same Sūtra and Vārttika 2 to VIII 1, 67, but in the latter Kātyāyana says मलोपवचन च and the Kārikā enlarges this rule to मकारलोपो ऽतिहि (Nāgojibhatta मलोपश्चेति वार्त्तिकोक्तो मलोपस्तिङन्ते नेष्ट) The Kārikā to III 2, 118 is thus introduced by Patañjali किं चान स्मादि । न स्म पुराद्यतन इति (second Vārttika) ब्रुवता कात्यायनेनेह स्मादि°°, and by Kaiyyaṭa एकतरस्मिन्वार्त्तिके स्मपुराशब्दानुपादानात्स्मपुरोरुभयोर्योगे सति भूतानद्यतन्पुर्वस्मिन्परस्मिन्वा विशेषमपश्यन्पृच्छति । इतरो वार्त्तिकप्रत्याख्यानाय ममा विकल्पितत्वेन दित्याह । स्मादि°°

jali entirely without comment, while he comments on another portion in the same manner as he does on the Vārttikas, and we may add, too, that there are a few Vārttikas which are not altogether without a gloss, but the gloss on which is so scanty and so different from the kind of comment bestowed on the Vārttikas, that they might seem to constitute a third category of Kārikās [106]

If we first examine *the Kārikās without comment* we meet twice with the remark of Patañjali that *another,* or "others," have composed the verse in question, when the Kārikā is contrasted by him with the preceding *Vārttika* and the same remark occurs four times, when the Kārikā thus introduced to our notice is contrasted with a preceding *Kārikā* [107] More

106 *Without any comment* of Patañjali we find the Kārikās to I 1, 0 14 20 38 70, 2, 64 4, 51 (Kār 5-7) —II 1, 10 60, 4, 36 85 —III 1, 7 (=V 2, 94 Kār 1) 22 27 79 122 127, 2, 3 123 (Kār 1, 2 4 5 6), 3, 1 (Kār 3) 156 (=VII 4, 41), 4, 79 —IV 1, 44 63 161, 2, 9 60 (comp the preceding note), 4, 9 —V 1, 116, 2, 48, 3, 55 —VI 1, 1 77 (Kār 2), 87, 2, 199, 4, 46 (Kār 2) 92 —VIII 1, 70, 2 58 (Kār 3) 4, 114 —VII 1, 18 73 (Kār 2) 59 62 80 108, 3, 43 —There are Kārikās *commented upon* by Patañjali, in his usual manner, to I 1, 19 57, 2, 9 17 18 50 51, 4, 21 (=III 3, 161) 51 (Kār 1 2 1-4) —III 1, 112, 2, 57 109 115 139, 3 1 (Kār 1 2) —IV 1, 3 10 18 32 54 78 92 93 120 165, 2, 8 45, 3, 60 84 134 —V 1, 19, 2, 39 45 94 (Kār 2) 3, 83 —VI 1, 77 (Kār 1) 103 158, 2, 1, 3, 4?, 4, 3 12 22 46 62 74 128 —VII, 1, 9 21 40 73 (Kār 1) 96, 2, 102 107, 3, 3 86, 4, 46 (Kār 1) —VIII 1, 69 (comp the preceding note), 2, 25 55 58 (Kār 1 2), 3, 88, 4, 68 —To the *third category* belong the Kārikās to I 1, 38 (om Calc ed) —III 1, 123 2, 118 123 (Kār 3) — IV 2, 13 — VI 4, 120 149 — VIII 2, 45 —Other Kārikās quoted in the Calcutta edition do not occur in the Bhāshya

107 Patañjali to III 1, 27 अपर आह। धातु°° (contrasted with the preceding Vārttika), III 2, 123, Kār 1 अपर आह। नास्ति वर्तमान काल इति। अपि चात्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति। न वर्तते°° मो ऽप्यनर्थ इति (contrasted with the preceding Vārttika), etc, but the last Kārikā, which

definite statements, I believe, are not volunteered by Patañjali, but Kaiyyata once tells us, that such an uncommented Kārikā was composed by the *Śloka-vārttika-kāra*, or the "author of the versified Vārttikas," and though this information is not more distinct or more satisfactory than that of Patañjali, it has, at least, the merit of having on another occasion elicited the remark of Nāgoji, that this author is *not* Kātyāyana [108]

Being here merely concerned with the question of the relation of these Kārikās to Kātyāyana, we should not feel under the necessity of examining the contents of the six verses just mentioned, even if they differed in character from the rest—which is not the case,—for the statements alleged enable us, as it is, to conclude that they are *later* than his Vārttikas Still, as the remaining portion of these uncommented Kārikās does not admit of a similar inference without an inquiry into the evidence which they yield, it will be necessary to observe that they fall into two distinct divisions

One class of them merely records the substance of the preceding Vārttikas These, for the most part, stand at the end of Patañjali's commentary on the Sūtra to which they belong, but some of them are also met with in the midst of the discussion of the Bhāshya, but when they comprise the contents of a portion, not of the whole, of the Vārttikas to the Sūtra of Pāṇini [109] The second class has not the character

is introduced by the words अपर आह । अस्ति वर्तमान काल इति । आदित्यगतिवन्नोपलभ्यते । अपि चात्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । विसर्प्य°°, is contrasted with the preceding Kārikās at IV 1 44, after गुग he says, अपर आह । उपेत्य etc, at IV 1, 63, after °चरणे मह, he adds, अपर आह । प्रादुर्भाव°°, at VIII 2, 58, after °ज्ञाने, his words are, अपर आह । वेत्तेस्तु etc

108 Patañjali on IV 4, 9 अत्र किं न्याय्यम् । परिगणन कर्तव्यम् । आकर्षात्पर्पादे etc —Kaiyyata श्लोकवार्त्तिककार मन्त्रिमान्मविवक्षया श्रान्ति निरासाय पर्यञ्जीगणत् — Kaiyyata on the Kārikās to VI 4, 22 वार्त्तिक कारोक्तेषु प्रयोजनेषु प्राप्तेष्वपि श्लोकवार्त्तिककारोक्तप्रयोजनापेक्षप – Nāgojibhaṭṭa वार्त्तिककार कात्यायन । श्लोकवार्त्तिककारस्त्वन्य एवेति भाव See also page 10?

109 Such uncommented Kārikās standing *at the end* of the commentary occur at the Sūtras II 1 10, 4 85 (Kār 2 3) —III 1, 79, 2, 3 —V 2, 48, 3, 55 (Kār 3-5) —VI 1, 77 (Kār 2),—87 —VII 1,

of summaries of the Vārttikas It is an *essential part of the discussion of the Bhāshya itself,* now introducing the point at

73 (Kār 2)–VIII 2, 62 108, 3, 43 –*In the middle* of the discussion they occur at the Sūtras II 1, 60, before the fourth Vārttika, and summing up the Vārttikas 1, 2, 3, II 4, 85 (Kār I, being a summary of the Vārttikas preceding the third Vārttika in the Calc ed) —The summary character of these Kārikās is sometimes expressly adverted to by the commentators Thus at II 1 60, Kaiyyaṭa observes अवधारण नञा चेदिति पूर्वं एवार्थं आर्यया सङ्गृहीत II 4, 85 (Kār 1), एष एवार्थ (of what precedes) आर्यया दर्शित , II 4, 85 (Kār 2 3), पूर्वोक्त एवार्थ श्लोकेन सङ्गृहीत , III 2, 3, उक्तार्थसङ्ग्रहाय श्लोका । नित्य प्रमाणमिति V 2 48, प्रकृत्यर्थादिति पूर्वोक्तार्थसङ्ग्रहश्लोका etc etc I may here observe that the word इति, which is usually added by authors after quotations they make from other authors, is scarcely ever met with after the last word of these or any other Kārikās There is the following instance which clearly proves that no inference can be drawn from the presence or absence of this word इति after the Kārikās, viz the Kārikā to III 1, 7 is identical with the first Kārikā to V 2, 94, इति occurs after the former, not after the latter Only one of the Kārikās introduced by अपर आह — a clear instance of a quotation—is followed by this word, viz III 2, 123 (Kār 1) none of the uncommented Kārikās except the one mentioned (III, 1, 7) has this word after it and among the Kārikās with comment, it occurs only at III 2, 139 It is not necessary on the present occasion, to make any futher statement concerning the use of इति in Patañjali's commentary, but compare also note 130 — The Calcutta editors, who, unfortunately, have considered themselves justified in giving us "Extracts" from the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, do not enable their readers fully to recognise the summary character of these Kārikās, and, in placing the Kārikās either at the end or at the beginning, they have, in this class of the Kārikās, and still more so in the following classes, entirely destroyed all possibility of perceiving how these Kārikās are sometimes summaries of a portion only of Vārttikas, sometimes the summary of *Patañjali's discussion*, and *sometimes* an essential portion of his arguments When, in the MSS of the Bhāshya, to judge from the one at my command, a Kārikā which occurs in the middle of the discussion, is sometimes—not always —*repeated* at the end, such a device on the part of Patañjali, or, as it seems more pro-

issue with some general remark, then connecting or strengthening the links of the debate by an important definition or a new argument, then again summing up the substance of the discussion itself, and throwing, as it were some additional light on it [110]

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bable on the part of the copyists, is intelligible, and deserves approval as it is calculated to draw our attention to the occurrence, in the middle of the discussion, of such a verse, which usually contains important information But when such a verse is always taken from its original and proper place, and always put either at the beginning or at the end, for no other reason than that it is a verse, such a method, in a book, moreover, of that equivocal class which gives dribbled extracts of an important literature, makes the same impression on my mind, at all events, as if an editor of a garbled Shakspeare were to present us first with all the prosaic and then with all the poetical parts of the play, or *vice versâ*

110 Uncommented verses of this kind are met with in the Bhāshya *at* or *near the beginning of the discussion* on IV 1, 44 (वोतो गुण° । गुणवचनादित्युच्यते । को गुणो नाम । सत्त्वे निवेशते etc when he contrasts the following Kārikā अपर आह—उपैत्य°—with the preceding words), IV 1, 63 (जातेरस्त्री° । जातेरित्युच्यते का जातिर्नाम । आकृतिग्रहण°°, which words are contrasted with the Kārikā of "another " अपर आह । प्रादुर्भाव°°) IV 1, 161 (मनोर्जातावञ्य° । अपत्ये कुत्सिते etc), V 1, 115 (तेन तुल्यम्° । इदमयुक्तं वर्तते । किमत्रायुक्तम् । यत्तत्तृतीयासमर्थं क्रिया चेत्सा भवतीत्युच्यते । कथं च तृतीयासमर्थं नाम क्रिया स्यात् । नैतदयुक्तं वर्तते । सर्व एव ते शब्दा गुणसमुदायेषु वर्तन्ते ब्राह्मण क्षत्रियो वैश्य शूद्र इति । तप श्रुतम्°°), VI 2, 199 (परादिश्छन्दसि बहुलम् । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते । परादिश्च परान्तश्च°°), VII 4 46, Kār 2, (दो दद्° । अवदत्तं विदत्तं etc) —The foregoing quotations, which begin with the Sūtra itself, will show the introductory character of these Kārikās —*In the middle of the discussion* of the Bhāshya we find such Kārikās at I 1, 0 (ed Ballantyne, p 201, 202, towards the end of the Introduction), I 1, 20 (preceding the fourth Vārttika of the Calc ed) I 1 38 (the first Kārikā of the Calc ed it stands after the Vārttikas of this ed , and is followed by a Kārikā of the third category—see note 106,—which is omitted in the Calc ed), I 2, 64 (preceding the eighteenth Vārttika of the ed), III 1, 22 (after the Vārttika of the ed , but before other Vārttikas omitted there), V 3

A comparison of these two classes of *uncommented* Kārikās shows, therefore, that while the former might have been omitted in the Great Commentary, without any detriment to the contents of this work, the latter was indispensable to it We may look upon the summary Kārikās as memorial verses, 'adapted for forming a separate collection for the convenience of teachers and pupils, but the independent existence of the commentatorial Kārikās is quite unintelligible, and would be altogether purposeless In short, though there might be a doubt whether Patañjali, or some other grammarian, poetically inclined, had versified the Vārttikas, it seems impossible to assume that the second class of those Kārikās was composed by any one but Patañjali It is very probable, however, that the author of the Mahābhāshya was not the author of the summary or memorial Kārikās For since there *was* an "author of versified Kārikās," *as we learn from Kaiyyata and Nāgojibhatta, and* as we shall see that a considerable number of the commented Kārikās do not belong to his authorship, the literary activity of this personage would become restricted to, and his fame would have been founded on, less than half a-dozen lines, if we did not ascribe to him more Kārikās than those expressly attributed

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(—55 (Kār 1, 2, preceding the ninth Vārttika of the Calc ed , Patañjali speaks in the first person), VI 4, 114 (before the third Vārttika of the ed), VIII 2, 80 (before the second Vārttika of the ed)— Uncommented Kārikās occur *at the end of the discussion* of the Bhāshya at I 1, 14, 38 (the last Kārikā of the ed the Calc editors add that this Kārikā is originally a Vaidika passage referring to इन्द्र Kaiyyata and Nāgojibhaṭṭa have no remark to this effect, but even if the editors be right they ought to have proved first that the "Vaidika" passage in question—a very vague definition—is older than Patañjali s Bhāshya, and not taken from it), on I 1, 70, 4, 51 (Kār 5—7), II 4, 36, III 1, 7 (which occurs once more in the middle of the discussion on V 2, 94 as Kār 1), III 1, 122 127, 3 1 Kār 3 (see note 113) 156 (=VII 4 41), 4, 79, IV 2, 9, 60 (omitted in the Calc ed , see note 105, अनुमूल°°), V 3, 55 (Kār. 3—5), VI 1, 1, VII 1, 18, 4, 92 (where Patañjali speaks in the first person), VIII 1, 70, 2, 59

to him by these commentators, or if we fathered these summary Kārikās on Patañjali Whether the "*other*' mentioned in the first six instances be the same, or not, as the "author of the versified Kārikās," I have no means of deciding, but, at all events, it becomes certain, after this brief explanation, that *all the uncommented Kārikās are later than the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana*

The Kārikās *commented upon* by Patañjali are in one respect similar to the foregoing class, but in another wholly different from it As regards an external mark, we again meet here with "another," who has twice composed a Kārikā which is contrasted by Patañjali with a preceding Vārttika, and twice a Kārikā which he contrasts with a preceding Kārikā, the authorship of which is left without a remark [111] Another such Kārikā, too, is distinctly ascribed by Kaiyyata to the "author of the versified Kārikās" [112] And when we examine the contents of this second class of Kārikās, we again find many which form an essential part of the arguments in the discussion of Patañjali [113] Here, however, the analogy stops, for the remainder have in no way the nature of summaries, they are to

111 III 1, 112, Patañjali says, अपर आह । सज्ञाया पुसि etc, when he contrasts the Kārikā with the preceding Vārttika, III 2, 102, अपर आह । नोपेयिवान् etc contrasted with preceding Vārttikas omitted in the Calc ed, I 2, 50 (Kār 2), अपर आह । गोण्या इत्वन् etc contrasted with the preceding Kārikā I 4, 51, अपर आह । प्रधानकर्मण्याख्येये etc (commented on up to कवयो विदु Kār 1–4) contrasted with the preceding Kārikā

112 VI 4 22 Compare note 108

113 Such Kārikās are met with at or *near the beginning* of the Bhāshya on I 4, 51 (the two first Kār of the Calc ed), III 3 1 (Kār 1 2, the last Kārikā is left without comment), IV 1, 3 54 78 (the first four Kārikās stand at the beginning, before the first Vārttika, the following nine after the second Vārttika of the Calcutta edition, which, in the Bhāshya, however, is the fourth), 92 165, V 2, 45, VI 1, 103 *In the middle* of the discussion on I 1, 57, IV 1, 93, V 1, 19, 2, 94, Kār 2 (before the seventh Vārttika of the Calc ed), VII 4, 46 (Kār 1)

all intents and purposes identical in character with the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, and even Patañjali's commentary on them follows the same method that he observes in his comment on the Vārttikas[114]

This method is analogous to that which has become familiar through the classical commentaries of Śankara on the Upanishads, *of Medhātithi and Kullūka on Manu, of Sāyana* on the Vedas, of Vijñāneśvara on Yājñavalkya, and so on Its character chiefly consists in establishing, usually by repetition, the correct reading of the text, in explaining every important or doubtful word, in showing the connection of the *principal parts of the sentence, and in adding such observations* as may be required for a better understanding of the author Patañjali even excels, in the latter respect, the commentaries instanced, for he frequently attaches his own critical remarks to the emendations of Kātyāyana, often in support of the views of the latter, but not seldom, too, in order to refute his criticisms and to defend Pānini, while, again, at other times, *he completes the statement of one of them by his own additional* rules

Now this method Patañjali strictly follows in his comment *on the Kārikās I am alluding to As they nearly always con-*

114 Kārikās of this description occur in the Bhāshya *at or near the beginning* of the commentary on I, 1, 19, 2, 9 17 18 50 (Kār 1), III 2, 115, IV 1, 10 (the Vārttika *of the Calc* ed on *this Sūtra is* no Vārttika but Bhāshya), 3, 60, 84 134 V 3 83, VI 1, 77 (Kār 1) 168, 2, 1 3, 46, 4, 3 46 128, VII 1, 21 40 73 (Kār 1) 96, 2, 107, 3, 3 (Kār 1) 86, VIII 1, 69 (?), 2, 26 55 58 (Kār 1 2), 3, 88, 4, 68 —*In the middle*, at I 2, 51, 4, 21 (= III 3, 161), III 2, 57 139, IV 1, 18 32 (*the* second Vārttika of the Calc ed is no Vārttika but Bhāshya on the last part of the Kārikā), 2, 8 (the second Vārttika of *the Calc* ed *is misedited, it runs thus* इहे सामनि - जाने वाप्यण्विड्वां विधीयते) 46, V 2, 39, VI 4, 12 62 74, VII 1, 9, 2, 102, 3, 3 (Kār and 3 —*Towards the end*, at IV 1, 120 —In several of these instances there are no other Vārttikas to the Sutra besides the Kārikā, which is then the subject of the whole commentary, *e g* at IV 3, 60 84, VI 4, 46, 128, VII 1, 21, 3, 86

stitute a whole verse, and as such a verse is generally too complicated an assemblage of words to be thoroughly intelligible without being interrupted by some explanatory remark, it seldom happens that the comment of Patañjali does not begin till he has given the whole verse in its uninterrupted order Nor is it often that so many words of the Kārikā as constitute half a verse remain together in the Bhāshya, though it is obvious that half a verse is more likely to afford undivided matter for comment than a whole one The rule, therefore, is, that small portions of the Kārikā, for the most part of the extent of an ordinary Vārttika, are, like so many Vārttikas, separately commented upon by Patañjali, and that in all such instances we have to gather the scattered parts of the Kārikā from amongst the commentatorial interruptions of Patañjali, in order to see that, put together, they form a verse,—a Śloka, an Indravajrā, a Dodhaka, an Āryā, or the like [115] This

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115 The text of the *whole* verse of Kārikās of this class is given before the comment of Patañjali, at I 2, 51, V 2 94 Kār 2, VI 4, 46, VIII 4, 68 There occur *half* verses of the Kārikās, without commentatorial interruptions, e g at I 4, 21 (= III 3, 161) 51, III 2, 57 115, IV 1, 3 10 32 93 165, 2, 8 45, V 2, 39, VI 4, 3 12 62 128, VII 1, 9 96, 2, 102 107, 3, 3 86 —Both modes are combined at VIII 3, 45 (a Kār of the *third category*) where Patañjali first comments on the text of the first Kārikā, which is given without any interruption, then on the first half of the second Kārikā, then on the second half of the second and the first half of the third Kārikā, both given together then on the second half of the third and firstly, on the first half of the fourth Kārikā The comment on the second half of the fourth Kārikā follows first after the words सिद्धश्च मे समासे, and then after the words प्रतिषेधार्थस्तु यत्नोऽयम् —The manner in which the great majority of *these* Kārikās is interrupted in the Mahābhāshya may be guessed from a very few instances which have escaped the garbling process of the Calcutta editors, from IV 1, 120, where the four Vārttikās are the literal text of the Kārikā and from V 3, 83, where the first five Vārttikas constitute the Kārikā The injudiciousness of giving these Kārikās on all other occasions, without indicating the manner in which they have arisen from a number of

trouble we are frequently saved, either by the author of the *Great Commentary* himself, or by the attentive copyists of his work, as he or they usually repeat, at the end of the gloss on the Vārttikas, the whole Kārikā in its metrical integrity Sometimes, however, they omitted to do this, and if I may judge from the copy of the Mahābhāshya in the possession of the

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short Vārttikas, requires no remark after the foregoing explanation, but this proceeding becomes still more subject to censure, when some portions of the Kārikā *are* given as Vārttikas and others are omitted, or ascribed to other works than the Bhāshya, while the Kārikā, nevertheless, is printed as belonging to the latter work For it becomes evident that, in all such cases, there was not even a principle which guided the so called selection or quotation of the works whence the Vārttikas are taken Thus at IV 1, 32 the Calcutta edition gives the Kārikā, but only the last portion of it as Vārttika—mistaking, moreover, the words of the commentary वा छन्दसि नुग्वक्तव्य for the Kārikā-Vārttika, which runs thus वा छन्दसि नुग्भवेत् — A similar mis-edition of the second Vārttika to IV 2, 8, and the attributing to the Kārikā of the fifth Vārttika, make it impossible to see that the Vārttikas 2—5 form, in the Mahābhāshya, the text of the printed Kārikā —In ascribing the third and the fifth Vārttika of V 3, 83 to the Siddhānta-kaumudī, the editors obscure the origin of the Kārikā to this Sūtra, which repeats the text of the first five Vārttikas, such as they occur in the Bhāshya —At VIII 2, 25 the same edition does not allow us to perceive more than the first stop of the first Kārikā, while it gives the three Kārikās in full — I may mention, too, that there is no such Kārikā in the Bhāshya as that printed at VI 4, 10 It certainly was very tempting to roll up into a Śloka the words of Patañjali, तुक्प्रसज्येत, which explain the second Vārttika तुक्प्रसङ्ग, together with the three other Vārttikas which belong to Kātyāyana, but there is no evidence to show that Patañjali made this verse, nor does it occur in the Kāśikā or the Siddhānta kaumudī —For one Kārikā Patañjali seems, indeed, to be himself answerable, for the Vārttikas to VIII 1, 69 merely contain the material for the first fourth and the second half of the Kārikā, which occurs at the end of his Bhāshya on this Sūtra It is possible, however, under the circumstances, that this Kārikā may be one of the summary class See note 105

Library of the Home Government for India, the Calcutta Pandits, who published an edition of Pānini, have, in some instances, supplied the apparent defect of this manuscript [116]

The foregoing remarks sufficiently express my views on these *commented Kārikās* Where the authorship of "another," or of the *Śloka-vārttika-kāra*, is distinctly mentioned by Patañjali or Kaiyyata, I see no reason to doubt that the Kārikās to which this remark applies are neither Patañjali's nor Kātyāyana's When the Kārikās are part of the arguments of the Bhāshya itself, it seems certain, as in the case of the analogous Kārikās without comment, that their author is Patañjali, but when they have entirely the character of Vārttikas—which will later be defined—they are undoubtedly the composition of Kātyāyana, and such, I hold, is the view of Kaiyyata and Nāgojibhatta also For though it is no part of their task to specify the authorship of the Kārikās, except when such a remark is essential to their gloss, they, nevertheless, have done so occasionally, and when thus we find that they plainly ascribe some of these commented Kārikās either to the author of the Vārttikas or the author of the Great Commentary, as the case may be, we must be allowed to infer that they entertained a similar opinion on other Kārikās which would fall under either

116 Dr Ballantyne s edition of the first Pāda of the first Adhyāya of the Mahābhāshya, and the MS of the E I H, which have the four Vārttikas to I 1, 57, निय परयणादेश (MS परयणादेशो नित्य । comm । परश्चासौ व्यवस्थया । comm । युगपत्सम्भवो नास्ति । comm । बहिरङ्गेन सिध्यति । comm ।, do not repeat these words without interruptions in order to show their Kārikā nature, and the same remark applies to the MS with regard to the *commented* Kārikās I 2, 51, 4, 21 51 IV 1, 3 32 78 92 93 120 165, 2, 45, 3, 60 134, V 1, 19 2, 39 45 94 (Kār 2), 3, 83, VI 1, 158, 4, 46 62 74 128, VII 1, 96, 4, 46 (Kār 1), VIII 2, 25 55 58 (Kār. 1, 2), 3, 45, 4, 68 The repetition of some of these Kārikā Vārttikas has no doubt been omitted, because the commentary of Patañjali allowed the whole verse or half a verse of this text to remain uninterrupted (see note 115) In the Calcutta edition all these Kārikās are given in their metrical integrity

of the heads I have mentioned above[117] Nor need we hesitate at the idea of a poetical author of Vārttikas Not only were whole grammatical works, ancient and modern, written in verse,[118] but it is a common occurrence with scientific commentators in India, that they cannot resist the temptation of running into verse, even at the risk of endangering their prosaic task. We need only remember another celebrated author of Vārttikas, Kumārila, who writes alternately in Śloka and prose It might seem more remarkable that Patañjali should write in verse and comment upon this himself, but *Mādhava* affords an analogous instance in his Jaiminīya nyāya-mālā-vistara, *Viśvanātha-Pañchānana* wrote a commentary in prose, the Siddhānta-muktāvalī, on his metrical exposition of the Vaiśeshika Philosophy, the Bhāshā-parichchheda, *Daivajñarāma* explained in prose his versified Muhūrta Chintāmaṇi, *Vardhmāna* did the same with his Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi, and many more instances could be adduced to show that there is nothing striking, or even remarkable, in the assumption that Patañjali

117 *Thus, on the first four Kārikās to IV 1, 78, Nāgojibhaṭṭa* observes एते श्लोका भाष्यकृत एव न वार्त्तिककृत —which words, moreover, plainly intimate that there exist Kārikās composed by Kātyāyana, or in the latter part of Kaiyyaṭa's comment on the Kārikā to VI 1, 103 we read इत्यादिना विशिष्टमेव लिङ्गलक्षण भाष्यकारेणाश्रितम् ।—In his comment on the Kārikā to IV 8, 60, Nāgojibhaṭṭa, in referring to the remark of Patañjali, मुखपार्श्व इत्येताभ्या तसन्ताभ्यामीयप्रत्ययो वक्तव्य (which words explain the beginning of the second Kārikā) observes भाष्ये तसन्ताभ्यामिति वार्त्तिके आषत्वात्समास, and on a further remark of Kaiyyaṭa प्रकृतवार्त्तिकप्रयोजनमाह । On the affix तवै in the second Kārikā to VI 1, 168, Nāgojibhaṭṭa remarks वार्त्तिके तवैग्रहण सूत्रोपलक्षणम्, on the first Kārikā to VI 2, 1 इति नियमोऽसिद्ध इति वार्त्तिकार्थ, on Kaiyyaṭa to the first Kārikā to VI 3, 46 अन्यप्रकृतिरिति वार्त्तिकस्थमन्यशब्द व्याचष्टे, on Kaiyyata to the second fourth of Kārikā 1 to VI 4, 12 वार्त्तिके सुटीति, etc, on a various reading in the second Kārikā to VII 3, 86 वार्त्तिकेऽनल्लोप इति पाठ, etc —In his gloss on the Kārikā to VIII 4, 68 says नस्य विवृतोपदेशादन्यत्रापि विवृतोपदेश सवर्णग्रहणार्थ इति वार्त्तिककृता पूर्वमेव प्रतिपादितम् ।

118 For instance, the Pāṇinīya Śikshā and the Rk Prātiśākhya.

composed grammatical verses and commented on them in prose [119]

After the foregoing observations, the authorship of those Kārikās, which, apparently, form a third category, can create no difficulty so far as Kātyāyana is concerned They were neither written by him, nor before his time The manner in which Patañjali comments on them, and their very contents, show that they cannot be assimilated to Kātyāyana's Kārikās, which, as I mentioned before, are dealt with by him in the same manner as the Vārttikas in prose There is either scarcely

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119 I owe to the kindness of Dr Fitz-Edward Hall an extract from his *"Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems,"* which mentions besides Visvanātha-Pañchānana, eleven authors who wrote twelve works in verse and commented on them in prose As this extract is, on other grounds, of considerable interest, I will, with Dr Hall's permission, forestall the arrival in Europe of his important work, and here subjoin the substance of his communication He names in it, besides the author of the Bhāshā-parichchheda —1 *Jīvarāja-Dīkshita,* who wrote the Tarka kāsikā (on the Vaiseshika) in verse, and a commentary on it in prose, the Tarka mañjarī, 2 *Vidyāranyāchārya* the author of the Vedāntādhikarana-mālā (in verse) and a prose exposition interspersed, 3 *Prakāsānanda* or *Anatānanda-krshna* (?), the author of the Siddhāntamuktāvalī, 4 *Vasudeva-Brahma Prasāda,* the author of the Sachchidānandānubhavapradipikā, 5 *Lakshmīdhara-Kavi,* who wrote the Advaita-makaranda, 6 *Śankarāchārya,* to whom the Ātmabodha is ascribed, and likewise a comment on it, entitled Ajñānabodhinī, 7 *Śankarānanda,* the author of the Ātmapurāna and a comment on it, the Ātmapurāna dīpikā, 8 *Appayya-Dīkshita,* the author of the Brahma-tarka-stava and the Brahma tarka-stava-vivarana, 9 10 *Vallabhāchārya* the author of the Pushti-pravāha-maryādā bheda and a Vivarana on it, and likewise of the Antahkarana prabodha and a Vivrti on it, 11 *Gangādharasarasvatī,* the author of the Siddhānta-sūktimañjarī (an abridgement of the Siddhāntalesa) and a Prakāsa of it, and 12 *Govindasāstrin,* who wrote the Atharvana-rāhasya and a commentary on it —All these works (except the first) treat on the Vedānta their text is in verse and their commentary in prose.

any comment on the Kārikās of this class, or his comment assumes more the nature of a general exposition, which is intended to work out the sense of the Kārikā, but not to give, at the same time, a gloss, in the usual sense of this word.[120] In short, a comparison of these Kārikās with those of the two other classes, must lead to the conclusion that, in reality, they are no separate class, but belong either to one or the other. They are partly Patañjali's own arguments expressed in verse and amplified in prose, or the composition of that "other"

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120 Thus the two half verses of a Kārikā to I 1, 38 (omitted in the Calc ed), are interrupted and accompanied by a brief remark, as will appear from the following quotation (ed Ballantyne, p 492) इदुदिताना ग्रहणं तु कार्यं सन्ध्याविशेष ह्यभिनिश्रिता ये (*first half verse*) ॥ तेषां प्रतिषेधो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । इहा मा भूत् । एको द्वौ बहव इति ॥ तस्मात्स्वरादिग्रहण च कार्यं इदुदिताना ग्रहणं च पाठे (*second half verse*) । पाठेनैषमव्ययसंज्ञा क्रियते भेद न प्राप्नोति । परमोच्चैः परमनीचैरिति — The Bhāshya on the first two half *verses of the Kārikā to III 1, 123 (which are left uninterrupted),* merely consists of the words निष्टर्क्यं चिन्वानि पशुकाम , on the following *portion,* एवादेवस्मात्वतुर्भ्यं क्यप् , *of the instances* देवहूय । प्रणाय । उन्नाय । उच्छिष्य । , on चत्यर्थश्च यनो विनि , of the instances मर्यं । स्तर्योध्वर्यं । गय , and the like on the *last half verse* —*The comment on the* Kārikā to IV. 2, 13 runs thus अथवा कुमार्यां भव कौमार । यद्येव कौमारी भार्येति न *सिध्यति दुर्योगान्भिधान भविष्यति । कौमारस्य भार्या कौमा ? — The whole Bhāshya* on the Kārikās to VI 4, 120, is the following, on the first half verse छन्दस्यमिपचोरपाति वक्तव्यम् । किं प्रयोजनम् । *अनेद्र*[00], *and on the rest,* which is given without any interruption अनित्योऽयं विधिरिति — The Kārikā *to VI 4, 149, which also is given entire—up to* तथा, which is preceded only by the word अनिषट्—is followed by these words आनिये च दूरके सूर्या — *The Bhāshya on the whole continuous first* Kārikā to VIII 3, 45, consists of these words व्यपक्षासामर्थ्य पूर्वयोग । न चात्र व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यंम । *किं पुन कारणम् । पूर्वस्मिन्योग व्यपेक्षासामर्थ्यमाश्रीयते न पुनरेकार्थीभावो यथान्यत्र,* on the first half of the second, the Bhāshya runs ऐकार्थ्ये सति वाक्ये चत्व न स्यात् । सर्पिष्करोति । सर्पि करोतीति, on the uninterrupted second half and first half of the third Kārikā, यदि इदन्मेत्तनोऽधिकस्य षत्व न प्राप्नोति । किं कारणम् । प्रत्ययग्रहण यस्मात्स तथादेरग्रहण भवतीति वाक्येऽपि नहि न प्राप्नोति । परम सर्पिष्करोति, on the second half of the third Kārikā यन्दमनुत्तरपदस्थस्येति प्रतिषेध शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्य । भवति वाक्ये विभाषेति, fourth Kārikā, etc

grammarian whom we have encountered before. There are, indeed, two of these Kārikās which are distinctly ascribed by Patañjali to this grammarian, and a third which quotes Kātyāyana, and cannot therefore belong to this author of the Vārttikas.[121]

Another and very important class of grammatical writings frequently adverted to in the Mahābhāshya is familiar to Hindu grammarians under the name of *Paribhāshās*. They do not amend and criticise, but teach the proper application of, the rules of Pāṇini. While the *Sanjñā-rules* explain the technical terms of his work, the *Paribhāshās* explain the general principles, according to which the Sūtras are to be applied. Thus, when Pāṇini or other grammarians teach the meaning of the terms *Guṇa*, *Vṛddhi*, *Upasarga*, *Gati*, *Dvandva*, etc., the rules devoted to this purpose are *Sanjñā-rules*; but when Pāṇini says, "If a grammatical element in the Sūtras has the mute letter *m*, this *anubandha* indicates that such an element has to be added after the last vowel of the radical or base with which it is to be joined," or if he states, "The sixth case in a Sūtra means that, instead of that which is expressed by this case, something else, enjoined by the Sūtra, is to be substituted,"—such rules are *Paribhāshā-rules*.[122]

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121 The Kārikās to I 1, 38, VI 4, 149, and VIII 3, 45, belong, in all probability, to Patañjali, and those to III 1, 123, 2, 118, 123 (Kār 3), IV 2, 13, and VI 4, 120, to the "other" grammarians. The Kārikā to III 1, 123, is distinctly introduced by Patañjali with the words अपर आह.—The third Kārikā to III 2, 123, which has no other comment than the words हिमवानपि गच्छति, is thus introduced by him, together with the two preceding and the two following verses: अपर आह । नास्ति वर्तमान काल इति । अपि चात्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति । न वर्तते, etc. Compare note 107.—The first Kārikā to III 2, 118, explicitly refers to Kātyāyana, in quoting his second Vārttika to this Sūtra.

122 Compare I 1, 1. 2. etc., and other Sūtras marked in the edition संज्ञाप्रदेश, and I 1, 47. 49. and other Sūtras marked there परिभाषासूत्रम्. But the Calcutta editors have failed in accuracy, also, in this respect. Thus the rule I 1, 21, आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्, is marked by them as an अतिदेश, but Patañjali calls it distinctly परिभाषा, or I 1, 69,

A *Paribhāshā* contains either a special mark, which enables the reader to recognise at once the Sūtra to which it refers, or it is delivered without such a criterion In the latter case, it is matter of discrimination to see whether it applies unconditionally or conditionally to a given Sūtra In explaining, for instance (*I 1, 3*), that "whenever *Guṇa* or *Vṛddhi* is the subject of a rule, these terms are used in reference to the vowels *i, ī, u ū, ṛ, ṝ,* and *ḷṛ* only," Pānini, by these technical terms, gives us the power of distinguishing at first sight, as it were, the Sūtras affected by this *Paribhāshā* But when he says (I 1, 54), "If a rule is given in reference to something which follows, it concerns merely the beginning of such a following element," it is for the reader to judge whether this *Paribhāshā* prevails unconditionally at, and is an essential *part of, for instance, rule VII 2, 83, or not Again, when a Paribhāshā* (I 4, 2) teaches that "If two rules connected with one another, but of a different purport, apparently apply to the same case, the later rule only is valid," it is left to his judgement to decide whether it may be applicable or not to rule VII 3, 103, for instance [123]

अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः, has their mark संज्ञाप्रदेश, but is called by Kātyāyana himself a Paribhāshā (ed Ballantyne, p 763), or I 1 72, येन विधिस्तदन्तस्य is marked by them संज्ञाप्रदेश, but Patañjali likewise calls it a Paribhāshā (ed Ballantyne, p 372) द्वयो परिभाषयो सावकाशयो सतोरनयोराद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति च। इयमिह परिभाषा भविष्यति आद्यन्तवदेकस्मिन्निति। इयं न भविष्यति येन विधिस्तदन्तस्येति, etc

123 *Purushottama-vṛtti ṭīkā* on Pānini, I 1, 3 परि सर्वशास्त्र उपयुक्ता वाणी भाषा सा परिभाषा सा च लिङ्गवती विध्यङ्गशेषभूता च। या लिङ्गद्वाराभावे (MS E I H N 224, °भावो) नोपयुज्यते सा लिङ्गवती। या सर्वत्र विधिवाक्य उपयुज्यते सापरा। सापि काचिद्विधेरङ्गभूता यां विना विधिर्नैवात्मानं प्रवर्तते। यथा। आदे परस्येति (I 1, 64)। न (MS स) हि तद्विना ईदास इति (VII 2, 83) प्रवर्तते। काचिच्च विधिशेषभूता। विप्रतिषेधे परमिति (I 4, 2)। विरोधे बहुवचने झल्येदित्वम व्याहतमेव (*comp* VII 3, 103)। विरोधविषये तु परत्वात् (MS परत्वात्) बाधयतीति। The explanation of the Kāsikā—which in general is much more lucid, and on the whole not more extensive than the compiled gloss of the Calcutta edition—runs thus on the word विप्रतिषेध (I 4, 2) विरोधो विप्रतिषेध। यत्र द्वौ प्रसङ्गावन्यार्थावेकस्मिन् युगपत्प्राप्नुत स विप्रतिषेध। तुल्यबलविरोधो विप्रतिषेध।

The Paribhāshās, however, which are to be the subject of the following remarks, are not those given by Pānini himself they are the Paribhāshās met with in the Great Commentary of Patañjali, and have been defined by *Vaidyanātha,* surnamed *Pāyagunda,* in his gloss on the *Paribhāshendu-śekhara* of *Nāgojibhatta,* surnamed the *Upādhyāya,* as "axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by certain Sūtras of Pānini, and axioms (the existence and authority of) which are established by the method that governs other works, but is applicable to Pānini also" Each of these categories has been taught, as they state, by "older grammarians, in the shape of Sūtras" the former however, Vaidyanātha observes, prevail in number and authority over the latter In other words, these Paribhāshās are, according to the grammarians quoted, special axioms referring to Pānini exclusively and general axioms which avail for *his* Grammar as well as for *other* works The "certain" Sūtras of Pānini which indicate that such Paribhāshās are in existence and are required for a proper application of the rules, are called *Jñāpaka* and the method of other authors which indicates that those Paribhāshās are applicable as well to them as to Pānini bear the name of *Nyāya*[124] We shall see, however, that this definition, to be correct, will have to be modified, and I may mention, besides, that older commentators, Kaiyyata, for instance, merely speak of Paribhāshās and Nyāyas, not of Paribhāshās founded on Nyāyas, while the author of the Paribhāshendu-śekhara himself frequently gives the name of Nyāya to those Pari-

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124 *Paribhāshendusekhara,* in the introduction प्राचीनवैयाकरणतन्त्र वाचनिकान्यत्र पाणिनीये त त्र ज्ञापकन्यायसिद्धानि भाष्यवार्त्तिकयोर्निबद्धानि यानि परिभाषारूपाणि तानि व्याख्यायन्ते *Paribhāshendusekhara Kāsikā* of Vaidyanātha on these words प्राचीनेति । इन्द्रादोत्यर्थ । वाचनिकानि । सूत्ररूपेण पठितानि । अत्र । अस्मिन् । एवमग्रेऽपि ज्ञापकेत्यस्य प्रायेणेत्यादि । तथा च वाचनिकानामपि तत्सहचरितानां सहत्व । न्यायसिद्धाज्ज्ञापकसिद्धस्य (MS E I H No 490 न्यायसिद्धान्ता°) प्राबल्येनाभ्यर्हितत्वाज्ज्ञापकशब्दस्य द्वन्द्वे पूर्वनिपात (comp II 2, 34, v 3)। तत्रैतच्छास्त्रीयलिङ्ग ज्ञापकम् । एतच्छास्त्रेतरशास्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्धयुक्तिर्न्याय । सूत्रपाठस्य परिभाषाणामत्राव्याख्यानस्य प्राचीनोक्तानां कासांचित्प्रामाण्याय तद् भाष्येति etc

bhāshās which, according to his introductory words, are such as are founded on Nyāya [125]

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125 The *Laghuparibhāshāvritti* is therefore divided into a gloss on what we may call the Paribhāshās proper and a gloss on the न्यायमूला परिभाषा which comprise twenty-eight axioms This distinction is somewhat obscured in the *Paribhāshendusekhara*, where both categories are mentioned in the introduction (comp the preceding note), but afterwards treated promiscuously The Calcutta edition has, in most instances, correctly appended the Paribhāshā to the Sūtra which is its *Jñāpaka* thus the P निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्ति which is required for the proper application of *e g* the Sutra VI 4, 130, VII 2, 101, etc , is correctly appended in this edition to the *Jnāpaka-Sutra* I 1, 49 , the P नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वम् which applies *e g* to VI 4, 127 to the *Jnāpaka* I 1, 55, the P सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधित तद्बाधितमेव which applies *e g* to VI 4, 105 combined with VII 1, 35, to the *Jñāpaka* I 4, 2, and so on Sometimes, however, the editors have appended the Paribhāshā to the Sūtra for the interpretation of which it is required, but not to the *Jnāpaka* rule where it ought to have been placed, *e g* the p विकरणभ्यो नियमो बलायान् applies to I 3, 12, but its *Jñāpaka* is I 3 43; or the P नानुबन्धकृतमनेजन्तत्वम् is required for the proper interpretation of I 1, 20, VI 1, 45, etc , but its *Jñāpaka* is III 4, 19, etc In some instances the authorities named differ as to the *Jñāpaka* of a Paribhāshā, thus the P अर्थवद्ग्रहणेनानर्थकस्य ग्रहणम् is indicated according to the *Paribhāshendu-sekhara* which invokes the authority of Patañjali by the *Jnāpaka* I 1, 72, according to the *Laghuparibhāshāvritti*, by the *Jñāpaka* I 1, 34, the Calc editors have placed it under I 1, 68 —The P प्रकृतिवदनुकरण भवति is indicated, according to the first named work, by the *Jnāpaka* VI 4, 59, according to the second, by the *Jnāpaka* I 3, 18, the editors have appended it to VIII 2, 46, which Sūtra, however, merely illustrates its applicability Many other instances of this kind might be alleged in order to show that the matter is one of great difficulty to the Hindu grammarians themselves, and that in this respect, also, much scope is left for a future conscientious edition of Pānini That the Paribhāshās are not met with at the end of Patañjali s Bhāshya to a Sūtra, requires no further observation after the statement of note 109, for they are an essential portion of the arguments of his discussion —The term न्याय is applied six times to Paribhāshās by the Calcutta editors

In now adverting to the chronological relation in which these axioms stand to Pāṇini and Kātyāyana, we are, in the first place, enabled to decide that Paribhāshās of this kind must have existed before the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, for the latter quotes such Paribhāshās in his Vārttikas [126] Another question, however, is, whether those Paribhāshās which existed before Kātyāyana existed also before Pāṇini, and whether we should be justified in looking upon the Paribhāshās collected in the Paribhāshendu-śekhara, the Paribhāshā-sangraha, and similar works, as the original Paribhāshās to the Sūtras of Pāṇini If we believed Vaidyanātha's definition of the two categories of Paribhāshās, and of the distinction he establishes between *Jñāpaka* and *Nyāya* as just mentioned, it would become very probable that the Paribhāshās were composed *after* the Grammer of Pāṇini, and by another grammarian than Pāṇini, since there is no evidence to show that he wrote other Paribhāshās than those which are embodied in his own Sūtras, and if we assumed that the collections of Paribhāshās made and commented upon by Nāgojibhatta, Śiradeva, and others, are the original collections, there would be a certainty that the "older grammarians," whom the former quotes as his authority, did

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(viz at the Sūtras I 1, 23 42 47, twice II 1, 1, III 1, 12) but if they followed the Paribhāshā collections quoted, they ought to have marked in a similar manner several axioms which are given by them simply as Paribhashās. At all events, they ought not to have called the same axiom ननिवयुत्तम °° *Nyāya*, at III 1, 12, and *Paribhāsaā*, at VI 1, 71, *and since they repeated it in order to show its* application, they might have mentioned it also at VI 1 135, where it likewise occurs in the commentary of Patañjali

126 Vārttika to I 1, 65, which has disappeared in the Calcutta edition, says अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेन्नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिरनभ्यासविकारे, its last words नानर्थके, etc , are a Paribhāsā, as results from the Bhāshya on this Vārttika अन्त्यविज्ञानात्सिद्धमिति चेत्। तन्न। किं कारणम्। नानर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यविधिरनभ्यासविकारे। अनर्थकेऽलोऽन्त्यस्य विधिर्नेत्येषा परिभाषा कर्तव्या। किम विशेषेण। नेत्याह। अनभ्यासविकारे। Compare also a similar instance, in note 137

not precede Pānini, for one, or perhaps two of these axioms, *mentioned in each of these collections*, distinctly refer to him [127]

There are, however, reasons which must induce us to doubt the originality of the Paribhāshās contained in these collections, and to doubt too the strict correctness of Vaidyanātha's definition In the first place, because these collections, each of which appears to be entitled to equal authority, differ in the number, and even in the wording, of the Paribhāshās which they contain, though they coincide in giving all those Paribhāshās which especially concern us here [128] It is not probable, therefore, that the original collection of Paribhāshās was any of those now preserved in manuscript But there is more ground to confirm this doubt The *Paribhāshendu-sekhara* states, in its introduction, that it is going to explain "the axioms explicitly *mentioned by the older grammarians and recorded in the Bhāshya and the Vārttikas*" —whereupon Vaidyanātha comments "'The older grammarians' are Indra and so on, 'explicitly mentioned' means read in the shape of Sūtras, 'in the Bhāshya' says the author of the Paribhāshendu sekhara,

127 The Paribhāshā to IV 1, 82 अकृनव्यूहा पाणिनीया, and the P to VIII 1 1 पूर्वत्रासिद्धायमद्वित्व which is, *perhaps*, founded on the Sūtra VIII 2, 1, but as the expression पूर्वत्रासिद्धम् need not be a quotation from Pānini, it would not be safe to found a conclusion on it with the same certainty as on the word पाणिनीया । For this reason I do not lay stress on another Paribhāshā which occurs in the *Paribhāshārtha-sangraha-vyākhyā chandrikā* and the *Laghuparibhāshā-vritti* and is founded on VII. 4, 2 पूर्वत्रासिद्ध न स्थानिवद् (its wording in the *Laghup* पूर्वत्रा सिद्धाये न स्थानिवद is erroneous Compare note 132)

128 The number of Paribhāshās in the *Paribhāshendusekhara* is 108, it may, however, be given as 112, as several P are contracted into one, in the *Paribhāshāvritti* of *Sīradeva* it is 139, in the *Laghuparibhāshā vritti* add the *Paribhāshārtha-sangraha vyākhyā chandrikā* there are 108 Paribhāshās proper and 28 *nyāyamūlāh* P, some of the latter being included in the 108 of the first named work Another collection, which does not mention the name of the compiler, but bears the title of *Pāninimatānugāminī Paribhāshā*, has 123 Paribhāshās Each of these collections has some Paribhāshās which are not named in several of the others

because it is not his intention to explain the Paribhāshās which are embodied in Pāṇini's Sūtras, and because some of those mentioned by the older grammarians carry no authority with them "[129]

Now, if we compare the Paribhāshās collected in the last-named work, and in the other works devoted to the same purpose, with the Great Commentary itself, we find that they frequently call that a Paribhāshā which is not a quotation made by Patañjali from authorities which preceded him, but simply a portion of his own argument No doubt, when this great critic considered himself justified in laying down general principles according to which certain Sūtras are to be interpreted or applied, such axioms of his are, to all intents and purposes, Paribhāshās, but they are Paribhāshās of his, not of the authorities who preceded him [130] And this distinction we must draw

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129 See note 124

130 I mentioned in note 109 that the absence or presence in the Bhāshya of the quotational word इति affords no criterion in the case of the *metrical Kārikās* It is necessary to state now that this word is always met with when a Paribhāshā is quoted by Patañjali, and its absence is therefore a safe mark that a general axiom which occurs in his commentary is one of his own creation A few instances chosen from the first chapters of the Mahābhāshya will make good this assertion We read in the Bhāshya on I 1, 20 (p 395, ed Ballantyne) दोष एवैतस्या परिभाषाया । लक्षणप्रतिपदोक्तयो प्रतिपदोक्तस्यैवेति । गामादाग्रहणेष्वविशेष इति (the former of these P is omitted in the Calc ed), or at I 1, 49 (p 565) निर्दिश्यमानस्यादेशा भवन्तीत्येषा परिभाषा etc, or at I 1 55 (p 608) अस्त्वेषा परिभाषा । नानुबन्धकृतमनेकाल्त्वं भवतीति, or at I 1, 15 (p 377) एवं तर्हि गौणमुख्ययोर्मुख्ये कार्यसम्प्रत्यय इति, or at I 2, 63 तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्य सर्वो द्वन्द्वो विभाषयैकवद्भवतीति (not विभाषैक° as in the Calc ed), or at I 4, 2 विप्रतिषेधे परमेव भवतीति तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति । सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेवेति when in the latter three instances the word इति *indicates* that the preceding words are a Paribhāshā while in the first three instances the term itself is added, and इति afterwards On the other hand, when we read at I 1, 27 (p 442) नैष दोष । भवति हि बहुव्रीहौ तद्गुणसंविज्ञानमपि । तद्यथा । चित्रवाससमानय etc, or in the

in order to judge whether Patañjali originated an axiom merely for the purpose of defending Pānini, or whether the Sūtra in question is *bona fide* entitled to the benefit of such a general rule, since it is certain that several of these axioms were invented at later periods, either to palliate the shortcomings of Pānini, or to make his rules so conveniently elastic as to extend from the time at which he lived down to a period of linguistic

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Bhāshya on the same Sūtra (p 448) कर्तव्योऽत्र यत्न । बाधकान्येव हि निपातनानि भवन्ति, the words बहुव्रीहौ॰ ॰मपि and बाधकान्येव॰ are undoubtedly Patañjali's own, and it may, in passing, be observed that the Paribhāshendu-sekhara and the Calc ed have omitted the word हि in giving these words as Paribhāshās Or when the Bhāshya on the Vārttika शतृशानचोश्च निमित्तभावात्तिङोऽभावस्तयोरपवादत्वात् (omitted in the Calc ed), to II 3, 46, says शतृशानचौ तिङपवादौ तौ चात्र बाधकौ । न चापवादविषयमुत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते । पूर्वं ह्यपवादा अभिनिविशन्ते पश्चादुत्सर्गाः । प्रकल्प्य वापवादविषयं तत उत्सर्गोऽभिनिविशते । न तावदत्र कदाचित्तिङादेशो भवति etc , the words पूर्वं॰ ॰ऽभिनिविशते are clearly a portion of Patañjali s general argument, and do not contain Paribhāshās of older grammarians — These instances will illustrate the uncritical condition of the actual collections of Paribhāshās Some of these Paribhāshās, moreover, are nothing else than Vārttikas of Kātyāyana forming part of the discussion of the latter , they, too, are therefore not the oldest Paribhāshās, since, as we have seen above (note 126) Kātyāyana quotes a Paribhāshā which must have preceded his Vārttikas. Such Paribhāshā Vārttikas, which are commented upon by Patañjali in the same manner as the Vārttikas—while he *generally* contents himself with merely quoting a Paribhāshā rule—are, for instance, the P to I, 1, 66 उभयनिर्देशे विप्रतिषेधात्पञ्चमीनिर्देशः , or to I 1, 72 व्यपदेशिवद्भावोऽप्रातिपदिकेन , or *ib* पदाङ्गाधिकारे तस्य च तदुत्तरपदस्य च , or प्रत्ययग्रहणे चापञ्चम्याः , etc Other Paribhāshās of the Paribhāshendu-sekhara, etc , do not even represent the words of Patañjali, but merely the meaning of his general arguments *e g*, the P given at I ,2, 3, पर्जन्यवल्लक्षणप्रवृत्तिः , is the representative of the following words of the Bhāshya कृतकारि खल्वपि शास्त्रं पर्जन्यवत् । तद्यथा । पर्जन्यो यावदूनं पूर्णं च सर्वमभिवर्षति, etc , and other Paribhāshās, again, so far as I was able to ascertain, do not occur at all in the Bhāshya, *e g*, the P at I 1, 62 63 , II 3, 46 (par 2), etc

development, which could not but find them defective in many respects[131]

There is a material difference, therefore, between the Paribhāshās contained in these collections, *when taken as a whole*, and the Paribhāshās quoted by Patañjali, and no conclusion becomes safe until we know which Paribhāshās are quotations made by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and which belong to their authorship, or even to other and later works It suffices for our present purpose to add, that neither the first Paribhāshā already mentioned, which distinctly refers to Pāṇini, nor the second, is a Paribhāshā quoted by Patañjali or Kātyāyana[132]

We are left, then, free to judge of the relative age of these axioms entirely from their contents, and to weigh the probabilities which decide whether they could all have been written after Pāṇini or not These probabilities strongly tend in favour of the latter alternative For, however many of these *old* Paribhāshās may have been additions made after Pāṇini's though before Patañjali's time, we still shall have to admit that without a *great number* of them, *a proper* application of his rules is absolutely impossible Without them, many rules would become open to equivocations and doubts, nay, to such serious

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131 Such Paribhāshās, are *e g*, समासान्तविधिरनित्य, at VI 2, 197 and the nine P mentioned at III 1, 79, by the Calcutta editors

132 The Paribhāshā अकृतव्यूहा पाणिनीया is mentioned in Kaiyyata's gloss on the Bhāshya to IV 1, 82, but not by Patañjali The P पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विवचने is, in my opinion, a portion of Patañjali's own argument, when commenting on the 10th Vārttika (of the Calcutta edition), to VIII 1, 1, as results from the following quotation पौन पुन्य पौन पुनिक इति । अप्रातिपदिकत्वात्तद्धितोत्पत्तिर्न स्यात् । यदि तर्हि स्थाने द्विर्वचन राजा वाक्यवास्पदस्येति (?) नलोपादीनि न सिध्यन्ति इदमिह सम्प्रधार्यं द्विर्वचन क्रियता नलोपादीनानि । किमत्र कर्तव्यम् । परत्वान्नलोपादीनि पूर्वत्रासिद्ध नलोपादीनि सिद्धासिद्धयोश्च नास्ति सम्प्रधारणा । एव तर्हि पूर्वत्रासिद्धीयमद्विर्वचन इति वक्ष्यामि etc The same remark applies to the third Paribhāshā mentioned in note 127 for the passage of the Bhāshya to VII 4, 2, whence this Paribhāshā is taken, runs thus तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्य । इत उत्तर स्थानिवद्भावो न भवतीति । किमेतस्य ज्ञापने प्रयोजन पूर्वत्रासिद्धे न स्थानिवदित्युक्तम् । तत्र वक्तव्य भवति etc

objections, that it is hardly possible to conceive a grammarian of the mould of Pānini handing his work to his contemporaries in a condition so needlessly precarious, and so little creditable to his skill[133] Nevertheless, if he had delivered his grammar

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133 Two instances will suffice to illustrate this character of what I consider to be the oldest Paribhāshās In the rule III 1, 94, Pānini teaches that if, in his chapter on *krt*-affixes, a subsequent rule supersedes a preceding rule, either of the kind of affixes enjoined by such rules may be at will employed in the formation of a *krt*-derivative, except when the affix enjoined is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and when the affixes in the preceding and subsequent rules are *the same form* Thus the Sūtra III 1, 133, teaches that nouns denoting the agent are formed with the affixes *nvul* (=*aka*) and *trch* (=*tr*) Again, Sūtra III 1, 135, says that from *kship* and other radicals there named, such derivatives are formed with the affix *ka* (=*a*) hence, according to the Paribhāshā rule III 1, 94, the nouns of agent formed of *kship* may be *kship*, or *kshepa* or *ksheptr*, since none of these affixes is used exclusively in the feminine gender, and none has the same form as the two remaining ones But when Pānini rules, in III 2, 3, that form *dā* a derivative may be formed *da* (as latter part of compounds like *go da*, etc) and, in III 3, 12, a derivative-*dāya* (as latter part of such compounds as *go-dāya*, etc) it would become doubtful whether there be an option also in these instances, since the technical affix of the form *da* is *ka*, and of the form-*dāya*, *an*, and since it is not clear whether *ka* and *an* could be considered as affixes of a different form, or —on account of their representing the real affix *a*, though with a different influence on the radical—as affixes of the same form This doubt is not solved by Pānini himself, but by a Paribhāshā quoted by Patañjali, which says नानुबन्धकृतमसारूप्यम्, "dissimilarity (of the affixes) is not produced by the mute *anubandhas*" And Pānini must have supposed that his readers were acquainted with this Paribhāshā, for otherwise, as an accurate writer, he could not—in the Sūtra III 1, 126—have treated, without any further explanation, the affixes *sa* (=*a*) and *ka* (=*a*) as similar affixes, and exempted them as such from the influence of the rule III 1, 94 —Or when, in the Sūtra VI 1, 48 (and VII 3, 36), he says that the radical *i*, before the affix of the causal, becomes *āp*, his rule (VI 4, 57) on *āp* would be equivocal, since the

entirely without any Paribhāshā, we might still be free to assume, without inconsistency, that in doing so, he meant to the acumen of his commentators the task of eliciting these general principles from his grammatical rules But we know that such is not the case, his work bears evidence that he *has* given Paribhāshā-rules,—axioms which are in no way more important than many of those which are met with in the Mahābhāshya, but not in his work,—axioms which admit of the same arguments for or against their desirability or their indispenableness in a book of this kind The omission of these rules, then, would not be one made on principle, it would assume the nature of a serious defect, unless we discovered a motive which would reconcile it with the accuracy that characterises this great grammarian

We have proof — and some will be afforded in the sequel—that Pānini was not the *inventor* of the grammatical system preserved in his work, though he improved the system of his predecessors, and made his own additions to it We shall see, moreover, that he availed himself of the technical means of the older grammarians, and, in such a case, never gave any explanation of those technicalities which must have been known to his contemporaries, and, therefore, required no remark If then, we supposed that he followed the same course with regard to the Paribhāshā rules — and there is no reason why he should not — our inference would, of necessity, be that he was compelled to give such Paribhāshā as did not occur in the works of his predecessors, and were required as special axioms for his own work, but that, without exposing himself to the reproach of carelessness, he could omit all those Paribhāshās which were already in existence, and were available, as well for the grammar of his predecessors as for his own

And this conclusion is confirmed by the sense in which the term *Jñāpaka* is used in the older commentaries, espe-

form *āp* may represent a simple radical too,—unless he relied on the familiarity of his reader with the Paribhāshā, which states लक्षणप्रति पदोक्तयो प्रतिपदोक्तस्य, '(if there is a doubt) whether a secondary or a primitive form (be meant), the primitive form (has the precedence)"

cially in the Mahābhāshya itself, were by this name are called such rules of Pānini as "indicate" or point to other rules which show how the former rules are to be applied properly In commenting, *for instance, on a Vārttika to the Sūtra I 1, 23*, which defines the technical term *sankhyā* Patañjali asks, "how will there be in rules on *sankhyā* a correct understanding of this term ? " and answers this question in the following manner, " (This understanding) results from the *Jñāpaka*-rule What is such a *Jñāpaka*-rule ? When Pānini, in his Sūtra V 1., 23, *teaches that* bases formed with the affix *vat*, have an additional vowel *i* befor the affix *ka* enjoined in the preceding rule for *sankhyās*,—is this Sūtra V. 1, 23, the *Jñāpaka*-rule of *sankhyā ?* (*i e* does this Sūtra indicate that bases formed with *vat* are comprised under the technical name *sankhyā ?*) No. For the term *Jñāpaka* concerns the application of a rule (*i e* this term is not used of a Sūtra when its application is prohibited, the Sūtras V 2, 51 and 52, for instance, as Kaiyyata observes, are *Jñāpakas* of the Sūtra on *sankhyā*) [134]

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134 Vārttika to I 1, 23 (om in the Calc ed , p 432 ed Ballantyane) बह्वादानामग्रहणम् *Patañjali* बह्वादीना ग्रहण शक्यमकर्तुम् । केनेदानी सख्याप्रदेशेषु सख्यासम्प्रत्ययो भविष्यति । ज्ञापकात्सिद्धम । ज्ञापक किम । यदय वतो रिटवेति (V 1, 23) सख्याया विहितस्य कनो (comp V 1, 22) वत्वन्तादिट शास्ति । वतोरेव तज्ज्ञापक स्यात् नेत्याह । योगापेक्ष ज्ञापकम् —*Kaiyyata* ' ज्ञापकात्सिद्धमिति । एकादिवन्नियतसख्यावाचित्व बह्वादीना नास्तीति ज्ञापकाश्रय योगापेक्षमिति । अस्य योगस्य प्रत्याख्यानादेतद्योगापेक्षमिति न बोद्धव्यम् । किं तु योगानपेक्षत इति योगापेक्षम् । यदय बहुपूगगणसङ्घस्य तिथुक् (V 2, 52) षट्कतीति (V 2, 41) इतिपरत आगम शास्ति तज्ज्ञापयति भवति सख्याकार्यमिति Nāgojibhatta explains योगापेक्षमिति । प्रयोगापेक्षमित्यर्थं —This instance will suffice to illustrate the use of the word *Jnāpaka*, which is of constant occurrence in the Bhāshya, and is always employed in a similar manner In order to obviate an objection which might be raised by those not familiar with the Mahābhāshya against my rendering वतोरेव तज्ज्ञापक स्यात् "is this Sūtra V 1, 23," etc ,—I have to observe that Patañjali when quoting a Sūtra, often merely mentions its principal word, instead of repeating the word of the Sūtra and adding after them the quotational word इति The word वतो taken from the Sūtra वतोरिड्वा is therefore here an equivalent of वतोरिड्वेति Analogous instances will be found in note 136

Hence, though a rule may stand in relation to another rule, it is not its *Jñāpaka* unless it indicate its real purpose,[135] and as Patañjali expressly and repeatedly states, a rule has the character of a *Jñāpaka* only when it is given in reference to a rule already previously established, and when its sense becomes completed by it Thus the Sūtra III 2, 97, says Patañjali, is no *Jñāpaka* of the Guna rule I 1, 3, since the former rule does not become completed through the contents of the latter Or, the Sūtra VII 2, 103 is not a *Jñāpaka* of the rule VII 2, 102, since its object would not be accomplished by the contents of this latter rule, though the words concerned by both rules are comprised under the term *sarva-nāman*[136] In consequence, a *Jñāpaka* rule cannot precede, but must come after the rule which is indicated by it

In now considering the relation which exists between the *Jñāpakas* and the Paribhāshā-Sūtras,[137] we cannot but perceive

135 Patañjali observes, for instance, in his comment on the first Śivasutra (p 87 ed Ballantyne) कथं ज्ञायते यदयम् (VIII 4, 68) अ इत्यकारस्य विवृतस्य संवृततापत्तिं शास्ति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य प्रयोजनम् etc , or on the Vārttika to I 1, 56 आङ्हिभुवोरीट्प्रतिषेध, he observes (p 633, ed Ballantyne) आङ्हिभुवोरीट्प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य । आस्थ । अभूत् । अस्ति भूग्रहणेन ग्रहणादीट् प्राप्नोति । आहेस्तावन्न वक्तव्य । आचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति । नाहेरीट् भवतीति । यदयमाहस्थ इति (VII 2, 35) झलादिप्रकरणे थत्वं शास्ति । नैतदस्ति ज्ञापकम् । अस्ति ह्यन्यदेतस्य वचने प्रयोजनम् । किम् । भूतपूर्वगतिर्यथा विज्ञायेत झलादिर्यो भूतपूर्व इति । यद्येव थवचनमनर्थकं स्यात् etc , and the like in other instances

136 Patañjali *e g* in his gloss on the Vārttikas to I 1 3 (ed Ballantyne, p 348) यदप्युच्यते जोऽडिंवचनम् (III 2, 97) ज्ञापकं न व्यञ्जनस्य गुणो भवतीति सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च जनेर्गुणेन सिध्यति, on the last words of the third Kārikā to VII 2, 102 एवं तर्ह्याचार्यप्रवृत्तिर्ज्ञापयति न सर्वेषां त्यदादीनामत्वं भवतीति । यदयं किमः कः इति (VII 2, 103) कादेशं शास्ति । इतरथा हि किमोऽद्भवतीत्येव ब्रूयात् । सिद्धे विधिरारभ्यमाणो ज्ञापकार्थो भवति । न च किमोऽत्वेन सिध्यति ।

137 A Paribhāshā is, on account of this relation, also called ज्ञाप्य in his comment, for instance, to I 4, 14, Patañjali says अन्तग्रहणं किमर्थम् । न सुप्तिङ्पदमित्येवोच्यते केनेदानीं तदन्तानां भविष्यति । तदन्तविधिना । अत उत्तरं पठति ।

that it nowise differs from the relation which exists between rules instanced before and ordinary rules indicated by these *Jñāpakas* In the same manner as there are *Jñāpaka* rules which indicate the purpose of other rules, there are *Jñāpaka*-rules which indicate the purpose of Paribhāshās, and all the Paribhāshās given by Pānini himself, therefore, precede their *Jñāpaka* rules If, then, as we learn from Kātyāyana and Patañjali, there existed Paribhāshās which are not contained in Pānini's grammar, but which nevertheless are indicated by *Jñāpakas*, which are Sūtras of Pānini, such Paribhāshās must, at least in Patañjali's opinion, have existed before Pānini's work, *for otherwise the definition given by the Mahābhāshya* of the term *Jñāpaka* would become inconsistent with itself And since Paribhāshās or principles of interpretation cannot be conceived without matter to be interpreted according to them, such Paribhāshās must not only have preceded Pānini, but they must have been taught in one or more other grammatical works, and Vaidyanātha, therefore, as I suggested above, cannot be correct in basing his distinction between *Nyāya* and *Jñāpaka* on the circumstance that the latter refers to Pānini exclusively, while the former applies also to other works In all probability the difference is this that *Jñāpaka* is used especially of grammatical rules, while *Nyāya* is a synonyme of Paribhāshā, but applies to writings which are not grammatical

In now summing up the result we have obtained from the previous investigation, so far as it bears on our immediate problem, we find that the oldest author on record who wrote on Pānini was Kātyāyana, and that he was not merely the author of the Vārttikas, properly so called, but also of a certain number of Kārikās, which, in reality, however, are nothing else than an assemblage of single Vārttikas, forming, combined, a stanz or a verse We have seen, too, that Vārttikas, which forn

—Vārttika पदसंज्ञायामन्तवचनमन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिप्रतिषेधार्थम् — Patañjali पदसंज्ञायामन्तग्रहणं क्रियते ज्ञापकार्थम् (Kielhorn) । किं ज्ञाप्यम् एतज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यो ऽन्यत्र संज्ञाविधौ प्रत्ययग्रहणे तदन्तविधिर्न भवतीति etc Compar note 126

an essential part of the Mahābhāshya itself, are of Patañjali's authorship

What, then, is the relation of Kātyāyana to Pāṇini, and of Patañjali to Pāṇini and to Kātyāyana? Is it that of commentators, or is it to be defined otherwise?

Professor Muller confers upon Kātyāyana the title of "editor" of Pāṇini, and says that "the Great commentary of Patañjali embraces both the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana and the Sūtras of Pāṇini"[138] Professor Weber, on the contrary — who, even in some of his latest writings, candidly confesses that he has *never read* the Mahābhāshya, but nevertheless, or perhaps for this reason, abounds in conjectures on this work, which not only is in existence but within reach,— goes so far as to throw doubt on the genuineness of those Sūtras which are not explained, *because* they are not explained in the Great Commentary[139] I fear that neither scholar will find adherents for his opinion amongst the pupils of Patañjali and Kātyāyana The mutual relation of these latter grammarians and their relation to Pāṇini is, indeed, implied by the word *Vārttika*

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138 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, pp 363 and 243

139 For instance, in the *Indische Studien*, vol IV, p 78 "Die Plāxās kommen in dem Schol zu Pāṇini (IV 1, 95, 2, 112) vor (ob aus dem Mahābhāshya ?)," or in a note to the same vol p 168, when referring to the Sūtra VI 2, 142 of Pāṇini, he observes "Allerdings *bhāshye tu na vyākhyātam*, also unsicher, ob ihm gehōrg" [*"Also"*—, on what basis does this conclusion rest? *"Unsicher"*—, for whom?] The same confession and the same conjecture occur, indeed, so often in Professor Weber's multifarious writings, that it becomes a matter of psychological curiosity to see how an author, apparently much concerned about a certain subject, instead of acquiring the necessary information—which in the present case could not have caused any great difficulty,—or of consulting at least some *one* who might have allayed his disquietude, constantly displays before the public his feelings and theories, whereas, by dint of a stereotyped repetition of the same words, he must convey to a confiding reader the impression that there may be some foundation, at least, for his would be critical surmise

"The characteristic feature of a Vārttika," says Nāgojibhaṭṭa, "is criticism in regard to that which is omitted or imperfectly expressed in a Sūtra"[140] A Vārttika of Kātyāyana is therefore not a commentary which explains, but an animadversion which completes In proposing to himself to write Vārttikas *on Pānini*, Kātyāyana *did not mean to justify* and to defend the rules of Pānini, but to find fault with them, and who ever has gone through his work must avow that he has done so to his heart's content He will even have to admit that Kātyāyana has frequently failed in justice to Pānini, by twisting the words of the Sūtras into a sense which they need not have, or by upbraiding Pānini with failings he was not guilty of On this *score he is not unfrequently rebuked by Patañjali, who on such* occasions severely rates him for his ungenerous treatment of Pānini, and, as we have seen in an instance above (p 52), proves to him that he himself is wanting in proficiency, not Pānini Kātyāyana, in short, does not leave the impression of an admirer or *friend* of Pānini, but that of an antagonist,—often, too, of an unfair antagonist In consequence, his remarks are attached to those Sūtras alone which are open to the censure of abstruseness or ambiguity, and the contents of which were liable to being completed or modified he is silent on those which do not admit of criticism or rebuke

The position of Patañjali *is analogous, though not identical* Far from being a commentator on Pānini, he also could more properly be called an author of Vārttikas But as he has two *predecessors to deal with, instead of one,*— and two predecessors, too, one of whom is an adversary of the other,— his Great Commentary undergoes, of necessity, the influence of the double task he has to perform, now of criticising Pānini and then of animadverting upon Kātyāyana Therefore, in order to *show where he coincided with, or where he differed from,* the criticisms of Kātyāyana, he has to write comment on the Vārttikas of this latter grammarian, and thus the Mahābhāshya became

140 Nāgojibhatta on Kaiyyaṭa to the first Vārttika (of the Calc. ed) of I 1, 1 (ed Ballantyne, p 213) वार्त्तिकमिति । सूत्रेऽनुक्तदुरुक्तचिन्ताकरत्वं वार्त्तिकत्वम् ।

not only a commentary in the ordinary sense of the word, but also, as the case might be, a critical discussion, *on the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana*, while its *Ishtis*, on the other hand, are original Vārttikas on such Sūtras of Pāṇini as called for his own remarks

I have already mentioned that Patañjali often refutes the strictures of Kātyāyana and takes the part of Pāṇini, I may now add that, in my opinion, and as a few instances hereafter will show, he sometimes overdoes his defence of Pāṇini, and becomes unjust to Kātyāyana It is easy, however, to understand the cause of this tendency in Patañjali The spirit of independent thought, combined with the great acumen and consummate scholarship which pervade the work of this admirable grammarian — to whom, as far as my knowledge goes, only one author of the later literature bears a comparison, I mean the Mīmānsā philosopher, Kumārila — could not allow him to become a mere paraphraser of another's words An author like Patañjali can only comment on the condition that, in doing so, he developes his own mind, be it as adherent or as antagonist And since Kātyāyana had left but little chance for a successor to discover many more blemishes in the Grammar of Pāṇini than he had pointed out, an active and critical mind like that of Patañjali would find more scope and more satisfaction in contending with Kātyāyana than in completing Pāṇini, and thus I hold, we may explain his proneness to weaken even those censures of Kātyāyana which we should see reason to approve, did we not discover in favour of Pāṇini arguments which will appear hereafter, but which were foreign to Patañjali

As little, therefore, as it entered into the purpose of Kātyāyana to advert to every Sūtra of Pāṇini, did it come within the aim of Patañjali to write a commentary on Pāṇini, and, according to the requirements of such a commentary, to explain every rule of this grammarian His object being, like that of Kātyāyana, merely a critical one, Patañjali comments upon the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, because such a comment of his implies, of necessity, criticisms, either on Pāṇini or on Kātyāyana, and, in consequence, no Vārttika could be left unnoticed by him.

Again, independently of Kâtyâyana, he writes his own Vârttikas to Sûtras not sufficiently or not at all animadverted upon by the latter grammarian, because they, too, are criticisms, viz, on Pānini And, like Kâtyâyana, therefore, he passes over altogether all those Sūtras which are unexceptionable to his mind It is obvious, therefore, that no doubt whatever concerning the genuineness of a Sūtra *of Pānini can be justified on the* ground alone that it has no Bhāshya of Patañjali, and the unsoundness of such a doubt becomes still more obvious when we consider that a great many Sûtras of Pānini, which have no Vārttikas and no Bhāshya of Patañjali, nevertheless make their appearance as *quotations and as part of* Patañjali's argument in his Commentary on other *Sūtras criticised by Kātyāyana*

Now, if we take a summary view of the labours of Kâtyâyana, we find that of the 3993 or 3992 Sûtras of Pānini, more *than* 1500 offered him *the opportunity of showing his superior* skill, that his *criticisms called forth more* than 4000 *Vārttikas*, which, at the lowest estimate, contain 10,000 special cases comprised in his remarks

Having arrived at this point, let us ask — How could India resound with the fame of a work which was so imperfect as to contain at least 10,000 inaccuracies, omissions, and mistakes? Suppose that there existed in our days a work of 4000 paragraphs, every second or third of which not merely called for *an emendation, an addition, and corrections, in formal respects,* but which, on the whole, compelled us to draw *the conclusion* that there were twice and a half times as many *blunders in it* as it contained matter to be relied upon,— is it possible to assume that such a work could create a reputation for its author except one which no sensible man would be desirous of? If *we assumed such a possibility,* it could only be on *the supposition that such an author originated the subject he brought before* the public, and, as an inventor, had a special claim to indulgence and fame, or, on the supposition of public ignorance and individual immorality

But there is evidence *to show that Pānini was not* the first *Hindu grammarian who wrote, nor even the inventor of the*

technical system which has caused so much uneasiness to would-be philologers It is certain, too, that grammar was not, in ancient India, the esoteric study of the few, and there is no proof of any kind that Pānini had influenced or hired a number of scribes to puff his Grammar and his fame We must needs, therefore, resort to another explanation, if we want to reconcile the fact of the Vārttikas with the fact of Pānini's reputation, which was so great that supernatural agency was considered as having assisted him in his work

This explanation, I hold, can only be derived from the circumstance that *Pānini and Kātyāyana belonged to different periods of Hindu antiquity,*— periods separated by such a pace of time as was sufficient to allow —

1 *Grammatical forms which were current in the time of Pānini to become obsolete or even incorrect,*

2 *Words to assume meanings which they did not possess at the period when he lived*

3 *Words and meanings of words used by him to become antiquated and*

4 *A literature unknown to him to arise*

It is on this supposition alone that it seems possible to realise Pānini s influence and celebrity, of course, on the supposition, too, that in his time he gave so accurate, so complete, and so learned a record of the language he spoke, that his contemporaries, and the next ages which succeeded him, could look with admiration on the rules he uttered, as if they were founded on revelations from above If he had bungled along, as he must appear to have done, had he been a contemporary of Kātyāyana, — not he, but the author of the Vārttikas, would have been the inspired Rshi and the reputed father of the Vyākarana It is not necessary to exaggerate this view by assuming that Pānini was an infallible author, who committed no mistakes, omitted no linguistic fact, and gave complete perfection to a system already in use we need take no other view of the causes of his great success than we should take of those which produce the fame of a living man His work may or may

not have been looked upon by his contemporaries as having attained the summit of excellency, but, at all events, it must have ascended far beyond mediocrity At its own period it cannot have failed so signally, and in so many respects, as it would have done if Pānini and Kātyāyana had been contemporaries

In order fully to substantiate this view, I should have to submit a considerable portion of Pānini's Grammar and the Vārttikas connected with it, to an investigation which would exceed by far the limits prescribed by the present inquiry, and such an investigation might, moreover, appear to be superfluous on the present occasion, since I shall adduce hereafter argument of another kind, which will add materially to the force of these deductions Yet the importance of this question is so great that I will indicate, at least by a few instances, the direction in which, I believe, the facts may be found that lead to the conclusions *named*

1 Pānini says (I 2, 6) that the radical *indh* is *kit* in *lit*, which words mean that, according to rule VI 4, 24, the preterite of *indh* is *idhe* This radical he treats together with *bhū*, and he does not observe — as he always does if such be the case— that his rule concerns the Vaidika use of the preterite of *indh* Yet Kātyāyana corrects the injunction of the Sūtra by adding this restriction, and, for reasons connected with the latter, goes so far as to declare this Sūtra of Pānini to be superfluous [141]

In rule VII 1, 25, Pānini states that the *sarva-nāmāni* (which word is usually but inaccurately rendered "pronouns") which are formed with the affixes *datara*, and *datama*—moreover, *itara*, *anya* and *anyatara* (Gana to I 1, 27) form their neuters not in *m*, but in *d*, e g *katarad*, *katamad*, *anyad*, etc , but he

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141 I 2, 6 इन्धिभवतिभ्याञ्च —Vārttika इन्धेश्छन्दोविषयत्वाद्भुवो वुको नित्यत्वात्ताभ्यां किद्वचनानर्थक्यम् —Bhāshya इन्धेश्छन्दोविषयो लिट्। न ह्यन्तरेण च्छन्द इन्धेरनन्तरो लिट् लभ्यः। आमा भाषायां भवितव्यम्। भुवो वुको नित्यत्वाद् वतेरपि नित्यो वुक्कृते गुणे प्राप्नोति। अकृतेऽपि प्राप्नोति। ताभ्यां किद्वचनानर्थक्यम्। ताभ्यामिन्धिभवतिभ्यां किद्वचनमनर्थकम्। (The Calcutta editors have on this occasion mistaken Kātyāyana's Vārttika for Patañjali's Bhāshya)

says in a following special rule, that, in the Veda, *itara* has *itaram* for its neuter It is obvious, therefore, that he intended to exhaust his subject by these rules, yet Kātyāyana has to state that "*ekatara* forms *ekataram* in the Veda as in the language of common life"[142]

The letters *k, t, t, p,* at the end of a Pada, says Pānini (VIII 4, 45) may become *g, d, d, b,* before a following nasal, or be changed into the nasal of their class Kātyāyana adds "If, however, the following nasal is part of an affix, these letters *must always* become the nasal of their class, *in the language of common life*"[143]

Now I have chosen these instances from the sphere of conjugation, declension, and phonetic laws, simply because they at once suggest the question whether Pānini knew as much grammar as we should fairly expect from a beginner, who had studied Sanskrit for a few months Is it probable or not, that he was proficient enough to form the preterite of the common radical *indh* "to kindle," the nominative of the neuter of *ekatara*, "one of two,"—a word which, moreover, is the subject of one of his special rules (V 3, 94) ? and was he really so ignorant as not to be able to combine *vāk* or *tvak*, with the common affix *maya* into *vāngmaya* or *tvangmaya*, though a phonetic influence of the affix *maya* on the base *hiranya* is adverted to in his rule VI 4, 174 ? Or is it more plausible to assume that *idhe* and *ekatarad* were forms current in his time, though no longer current and correct when Kātyāyana wrote, and that when Pānini lived, *vāgmaya* or *tvagmaya* were as legitimate as *vāngmaya* or *tvāngmaya* ? That Kātyāyana's stricture may be as much open to censure as the rule of Pānini, unless we, in fairness, gave it the benefit of a similar argument, is proved by the words *kakudmat kakudmin* and *garutmat* which "in the (classical) language of common life" are quite

142 VII 1, 26 नेतराच्छन्दसि —Vārttika इतराच्छन्दसि प्रतिषेध एकतरात्सर्वत्र

143 VIII 4, 45 यरोऽनुनासिकेऽनुनासिको वा —Vārttika यरोऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यवचनम् —Bhāshya यरोऽनुनासिके प्रत्यये भाषायां नित्यमिति वक्तव्यम् । वाङ्मयं त्वङ्मयम् ।

correct, but would have been incorrect according to the Vārttika, if they had been used in such language at the time when it was composed [144]

2 Pānini says (VI 1, 150), "the bird (*nominative*) may be *vishkira* or *vikira* (either of which means any eatable bird but a cock) This rule is thus modified by Kātyāyana "the form may be *vishkira* or *vikira* if the sense of the word is 'bird'" (*locative*) Patañjali, it is true, sides with Pānini The Vārttika, he says, is irrelevant, since it teaches that either form *vishkira* or *vikira*, is correct, if the word means "bird," but that *vishkira* would be the only legitimate form, if the word has any other sense Pānini, however, he adds, did not mean to affect the sense "bird" by his optional "or," but the irregular form of the derivative [145] Nevertheless, it appears to me that both grammarians are right, and that Patañjali's decision is open to doubt Whenever Pānini binds the application of a rule to the condition of a special sense, he expresses the latter by a word either in the locative or nominative If he gives the meaning of the word in the locative it does not necessarily follow, though it usually happens to be the case, that such a word has other meanings, too, which are then excluded from the influence of the rule, but if he expresses the sense of the word in the nominative, he seems always to indicate that the word has this sense, and this sense only,— that both sense and word, being expressed in the same case, are, as it were, congruous [146] His present rule would therefore

144 It is not permitted to adduce also वाग्मिन्, for this word ought to be written—as, for instance, the commentators of the Amarakosha do write it—वाग्ग्मिन्, since its affix is not मिन्, but ग्मिन्, according to Pānini, V 2, 124 वाचो ग्मिनि । That in ग्मिनि the letter ग् is not an *anubandha*, results from I 3, 8

145 VI 1, 150 विष्किर शकुनिर्विकिरो वा —Vārttika विष्किर शकुनौ विकिरो वेति वक्तव्यम् —Bhashya शकुनौ चेन्मुच्यमाने शकुनौ या (वा?) स्या दन्यत्रापि नित्यम् । तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । न वावचनेन शकुनिरभिसम्बध्यते किं तर्हि निपातनमभिसम्बध्यते विष्किर इत्येतन्निपातनं शकुनौ वा निपात्यत इति ।

146 Compare *e g* III 3, 80 81 87, V 2, 15, VI 1, 149 (the meanings 2 and 3 of उपस्कर, in my Dictionary, are of later origin), VI 1, 154 166, etc.

imply that each form, *ushkira* or *ukira*, has no other sense than that of "bird", but Kātyāyana's corrections would mean that both forms are optional in the sense of "bird," while in any other sense both forms represent separate words This fact is borne out by the meanings given in Wilson's Dictionary under each form

The word *āscharya* is rendered by Pānini *anitya* (VI 1, 147), *i e* "not permanent, rare" Kātyāyana corrects this meaning, in substituting for it *adbhuta*, *i e* "that which has not existed before, miraculous, wonderful" On this occasion, too, Patañjali defends Pānini, by observing that this remark might have been spared, for the sense, "wonderful, miraculous," is implied by the sense "rare," and he gives instances to confirm this view, viz , "the height of (this) tree is something 'rare' (or wonderful), the blueness of the sky is something 'rare' (or wonderful),' but I very much doubt whether logicians will assent to this view of Patañjali, for, though all that is wonderful is rare, not all that is rare need be wonderful And he himself seems to break down under his third instance, which runs thus "That the stars which are not fastened in the atmosphere do not fall down, is"— surely not rare but wonderful [147] In other terms, the meaning of *āscharya*, given by Pānini, seems to have been only "rare ," and if so, it preceded that which became more usual at a later time, and is mentioned by Kātyāyana

Another and, perhaps, more striking instance is afforded by the Sūtra (VII 3, 69) where Pānini renders the word *bhojya* by *bhakshya*, for Kātyāyana corrects him in saying

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147 VI 1, 147 आश्चर्यमनित्ये —Vārttika (misedited in the Calc ed) आश्चर्यमद्भुत इति वक्तव्यम् ।—Bhāshya इहापि यथा स्यात् । आश्चर्यमुच्चता वृक्षस्य । आश्चर्यं नाल्यं द्यौ । आश्चर्यमन्तरिक्षेऽबन्धनानि नक्षत्राणि न पतन्तीति । तत्तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । अनित्य इत्येव सिद्धम् । इह तावदाश्चर्यमुच्चता वृक्षस्येति । आश्चर्यग्रहणेन न वृक्षोऽभिसम्बध्यते किं तर्ह्युच्चता सा चानित्या । आश्चर्यं नालता द्यौरिति नाश्चर्यग्रहणेन द्यौरभिसम्बध्यते किं तर्हि नालता सा चानित्या । आश्चर्यमन्तरिक्षेऽबन्धनानि नक्षत्राणि न पतन्तीति नाश्चर्यग्रहणेन नक्षत्राण्यभिसम्बध्यन्ते किं तर्हि पतनक्रिया सा चानित्या । तत्रानित्य इत्येव सिद्धम् ।

that he ought to have rendered *bhojya* by *abhyavahārya* Now, if we consult the use of these words in the classical language, there can be no doubt that *bhojya* and *abhyavahārya* mean "what is fit for consumption," and apply to solid as well as to liquid substances, that, on the other hand, *bhakshya* means "what is fit to be eaten," and applies to solid food only Is it likely, however, that Pānini should have blundered in the application of words which, it would seem, the most ignorant would employ? Patañjali, who, as I have already observed, is always disposed to stand by Pānini again takes up his defence, and observes, that Pānini's using the word *bhakshya* instead of *abhyavahārya* need not have been criticised by Kātyāyana, for there are expressions like *ab-bhaksha*, "one who eats water," or *vāyu-bhaksha*, "one who eats air," which show that the radical *bhaksh* is used also in reference to other than solid food [148] But both instances alleged by Patañjali are conventional terms, they imply a condition of fasting, and derive their citizenship amongst other *classical* words from a Vaidika expression, as Patañjali himself admits, when, in his introduction to Pānini, he speaks of *ekapadas*, or words, the sense of which can only be established from the context of a Vaidika passage to which they originally belong,[149] they do not show, therefore, that *bhaksh* is applied also to other phrases of the classical language, so as to refer to liquid food It seems evident, therefore, that in Pānini's time, which preceded the classical epoch, *bhakshya* must have been used as a convertible term for *bhojya*, while, at Kātyāyana's period, this rendering became incorrect, and required the substitution of another word

148 VII 3, 69 भोज्य भक्ष्ये —Vārttika भोज्यमभ्यवहार्यमिति वक्तव्यम् (where the nominative of अभ्यवहार्यं implies an additional criticism against the locative of भक्ष्य see the foregoing remark, page 126) — Bhāshya इहापि यथा स्यात्। भोज्य सूप । भोज्या यवागूरिति । किं पुन कारण न सिध्यति । भक्षिरय खरविशदे वर्तते तेन द्रवे न प्राप्नोति । नावश्य भक्षि खरविशदे वर्तते किं तर्ह्यन्यत्रापि वर्तते । तद्यथा । अब्भक्षो वायुभक्ष इति ।

149 For the quotation from Patañjali's preface to Pānini (ed Ballantyne, p 46) see my Dictionary, *s v* अभ्यवहार्य ।

3 The words and the meanings of words employed by Kātyāyana are such as we meet with in the scientific writers of the classical literature his expressions would not invite any special attention nor call forth any special remark This cannot be said of the language of Pānini In his Sūtras occur a great number of words and meanings of words, which — so far as my own knowledge goes — have become antiquated in the classical literature I will mention, for instance, *pratyavasāna*, eating (I 4 52, III 4 76), *upasamvāda*, making a bargain (III 4 8), *ishi*, in the sense of Veda, or Vaidika hymn (IV 4 96), *utsañjana*, throwing up (I 3 36), *vyaya*, application, employment in (I 3 36), *upasambhāshā* taking over, reconciling (I 3 47), *svakarana*, appropriating, especially a wife, marrying (I 3 56) , *sālinikarana*, humbling (I 3 70), *mati* desire (III 2 188), *abhresha*, propriety (III 3 37), *avaklrpti*, imagining (III 3 145), *abhyādāna* commencement (VIII 2 87) *hotrā*, in the sense of *rtvij*, priest (V 1 135), *upājekr* and *anvājekr*, to strengthen (I 4 73), *nivachanekr* to hold one's speech, to be silent (I 4 76), *kanehan* and *manohan* to fulfil one's longing (I 4 66), etc etc [150]

4 To prove a negative, is, no doubt, the hardest of all problems There are circumstances, however, which may lessen the danger of drawing the conclusion that an author cannot have possessed such and such knowledge when he wrote If we take into account the evidence afforded by the author's character and work, the judgment passed on his writings by his countrymen, and the condition of the latter,— these elements put together into the scale of criticism will show whether the scale of the author's proficiency can spare, or not,

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150 Some of these expressions, or others belonging to the same category, occur also in the Koshas, and in the artificial poetry, especially the Bhaṭṭi-kāvya This circumstance, however, does not disprove that they are obsolete in the real literature, since the Koshas have borrowed them from Pānini, whereas the Bhatti kāvya is expressly written to illustrate the rules of Pānini, and the artificial poetry bases its chief merits on the strangeness of its style and words

a certain amount of weight without disturbing the balance required That Pānini was an eminent writer, is not only manifest from his Grammar, but acknowledged by the common judgment of his countrymen , and the learning and civilisation of ancient India was such that we must admit the fullest competence in those who established his celebrity But we know, too, that Pānini was a *Brāhmanic* writer No amount of scholarship could have ensured to him the position he holds in the ancient literature if he had been a professor of the Buddhsitic creed In forming, then, an opinion on Pānini we must always bear in mind his learning and his religious faith, and the consequences which follow from both these premises

After these preliminary remarks I will first advert to the Sūtra (IV 2 129) in which Pānini teaches the formation of the word *Āranyaka* and says that it means "a man who lives in a forest " That *Āranyaka* has this meaning is unquestionable It means, too, if we consult the lexicographers," a forest-elephant, a jackal, etc ", but above all it is the name of those theosophical works which are the precursors of the Upanishads and are held in the greatest awe by the Hindu authorities [151] If a learned Hindu were asked the meaning of *Āranyaka* he would certainly first point to the sacred works which bear this name, and then refer to the meaning "forester," just as, I suppose, a European questioned on the sense of the word "Bible" would first say that it means "Testament", and then remember its etymological sense, "book." Yet Pānini merely speaks of *Āranyaka*, "the forester " No wonder that Kātyāyana supplies, in a Vārttika of his, the defect which must have struck him if, and since, he was acquainted with this portion of the sacred literature [152] But is it possible to assume that Pānini

151 Manu, IV 123, for instance, applies the same injunction to the termination of a lecture of an Āranyaka as to that of a whole Veda

सामध्वनावृग्यजुषी नाधीयात कदाचन ।
वेदस्याधीत्य वाप्यन्तमारण्यकमधीत्य च ॥

152 Pānini, IV 2, 129 अरण्यान्मनुष्ये —Patañjali अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते मनुष्य इति ।—Kātyāyana पथ्यध्यायन्यायविहारमनुष्यहस्तिष्विति वक्तव्यम् ।—

could have known this sense of the word *Āranyaka,* when he is altogether silent on it, and if he did not know it, that the works so called could have already existed in his time ?

The acquaintance of Pānini with a Yajurveda is evidenced by several Sūtras of his [153] But in speaking of a Yajurveda, he does not tell us whether he knew the *Black* as well as the *White* version, or only the *Black* version of it That the former, which is considered as the literary property of the *Tittiri* school, is older in form and contents than the latter, the *Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā,* requires no observation of mine, after the conclusive proofs which have been given by previous writers To decide, however, whether Pānini had a knowledge of the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā or not,—in other words, whether both versions of this Veda are separated in time are not, by the Grammar of Pānini is a matter which touches closely on our present inquiry with regard to the chronological relation between Pānini and Kātyāyana

In mustering the facts which bear on the solution of this question, we shall have, first, to observe that the word *Vājasaneyin* does not occur in a Sūtra of, but only as a formation in a *Gana* to Pānini (IV 3 106), while the formation of *Taittiriya,* from the base *Tittiri,* is taught in a Sūtra (IV 3 102) There is, consequently, a *prima facie* doubt against Pānini's

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Patañjali . आरण्यक पन्था । आरण्यकोऽध्याय । आरण्यको न्याय । आरण्यको विहार । आरण्यको मनुष्य । आरण्यको हस्ती ।—Kātyāyana वा गोमयेषु ।—Patañjali : वा गोमयेष्विति वक्तव्यम् । आरण्यका गोमया । आरण्या गोमया (Both Vārttikas are marked in the Calcutta edition, as if they did only occur in the Siddhānta kaumudī) Professor Müller has pointed out that Pānini does not mention the principal meaning of *Āranyaka,* but expresses himself thus (page 339) "Whether Pānini knew the Āranyakas as a branch of sacred literature is uncertain Although he mentions the word 'āranyaka,' he only uses it in the sense of 'living in the forest,' and it is the author of the Vārttikas who first remarks that the same word is also used in the sense of 'read in the forest' "

153 For instance, by the Sūtras II 4, 4 (*adhvaryu*), VI 1 117, VII 4, 38, VIII 3, 104, etc

acquaintance with the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā[154] And this doubt is heightened by the circumstance that the sacred personage, also, who is believed to have collected not only the Sanhitā, but the Brāhmana of the White Yajurveda, *Yājnavalkya* is also not mentioned in the Sūtras of, but merely in the *Ganas* to Pānini[155]

Since the question, however, whether Pānini knew the Vājasaneyi Sanhitā, coincides with the question whether he had a knowledge of the Śatapatha-Brāhmana, I will first quote a passage from Professor Muller's work, which, in a correct and lucid *manner, describes the relation of Yājñavalkya to* both these works —"A comparison," he says (p 353), "of the texts of the Taittiriyas and Vājasaneyins shows that it would be a mistake *to call* Yājñavalkya *the* author, in our sense of the word, of the Vājasaneyi-sanhitā and the Śatapatha-brāhmana But we have no reason to doubt that it was Yājña-valkya who brought the ancient Mantras and Brāhmanas into their present form, and, considering the differences between the old and new text, we must admit that he had a greater right to be called an author than the founders of the Charanas of other Vedas whose texts we possess In this sense, Kātyāyana says, in his Anukramani, that Yajñavalkya received the Yajur veda from the Sun In the same sense, the Śatapatha-brāhmana ends with the assertion that the White Yajur-veda was proclaimed by Yājñavalkya Vājasaneya"

154 Professor Weber has already drawn attention to the fact that in the *Ganas* to Pānini only the first word may safely be ascribed to the knowledge of *Pānini, since it is mentioned* by himself, and I may add, those words of a Gana, too, which are impliedly referred to by him; for instance, इतर, इतम, ईतर, अ य, अन्यतर, of the Gana to I 1, 27, adverted to in the *Sūtra VII 1, 25, which otherwise would be unintelligible* See also note 55. With these exceptions, we have no real *certainty of* deciding whether the words of a *Gana* were those which Pānini had in view when he wrote, *for not only are there considerable* differences in the readings of the *Gana* collections in existence, but it is certain that these lists have been subject, at various periods, to various interpolations, which materially *lessen their critical worth*

155. In the *Ganas* to IV. 1, 105 and 2, III

If, then, we turn our attention to the word *Śatapatha*, we have again to state that it occurs only in a *Gana* to V 3, 100 (compare also note 105), but is not mentioned authentically in any Sūtra of Pānini Yet Kātyāyana, I hold, has helped us to untie this knot, which has been drawn still tighter than it was by Professors Muller and Weber, in spite of the excellent counsel which the latter gives, "not to increase, by inattention the darkness, which is great enough already in the history of Sanskrit literature "[156]

A rule of Pānini's, which, literally translated, runs thus, '*amongst the Brāhmanas and Kalpas which have been proclaimed by an Old one (or by the Old)* [157] teaches, in its connection with preceding rules, that names of Brāhmanas and Kalpas are formed by adding the (technical) affix *nini* (i e the real affix *in* with Vrddhi in the base), to the proper name of the personage who proclaimed them, provided that such a personage is an *old* authority Kaiyyata gives as an instance of a Brāhmana so formed, the word *Śātyāyanin* derived from *Sātyāyana* the saint who proclaimed this Brāhmana, and other instances are mentioned by Patañjali in his comment on a previous Sūtra To this rule *Kātyāyana* added a Vārttika, which, according to the text in the Calcutta edition, would mean literally *In reference to Yājñavalkya and so on (there is) an exception, on account of the contemporaneousness* [158] and the comment on this additional rule is afforded by Patañjali in the instance he gives *Yājñavalkāni Brāhmanāni* where the Brāhmana referred to the authorship of Yājñavalkya, is not formed by means of the (technical) affix *nini*, but by the (technical) affix *an* (i e *a*, with Vrddhi in the base)

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156 Indische Studien, vol I, p 483 "We have already darkness enough in the history of Hindu literature, let us abstain at least from increasing it through our own inattention '

157 IV 3, 105 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु, which words are completed by the Sūtras IV 3, 101 and 103

158 Vārttika of the Calcutta edition to IV 3, 105 ' याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात् ।

The great importance of this additional rule of Kātyāyana is obvious It has been made the subject of several remarks in the "Indische Studien," where Professor Weber writes (vol i p 57, *note*) —"By the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmanāni [*Yājñavalkyāni*, as the "Indische Studien" writes it, is probably an error of the press] there [*i e* in the commentary of the Calcutta edition to IV 3, 105], *and also in the Vārttika*, and in IV 2 66, there can probably be meant none but the Śatapatha brāhmana, either the whole of it, or from XI to XIV, which, therefore, Patañjali even did not consider as *Purāna-proktam* [*i e* proclaimed by an old authority]" Again (vol i p 146), "A matter of importance is the distinct separation of Brāhmanas composed by the *Old* (*purāna*) IV 3 105, by which [expression], in contradistinction, the existence also of such as belong to a more recent time (*tulyakālāni*, says the Vārttika) is necessarily implied, amongst the latter, recent ones, the Yājñavalkāni [the repeated error of the press, *Yājñavalkyāni*," becomes suspicious] (comp p 57, *note*), and the *Saulabhāni* (otherwise unknown) Brāhmanāni are mentioned in the Vārttika, amongst the old ones, the scholiast there, (is it on Patañjali's authority ?[159]) names the Bhāllavinah and the Śātyāyaninah" And (vol i. p 177, *note*) —"Now we have seen (pp 57 *note*, and 146) that the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmanāni ["*Yājñavalkyāni*" again, which now becomes very suspicious], are considered by the author of the Vārttikas as *contemporaneous* with Pānini The question, therefore, is whether by it [*i e* the Yājñavalkani-brāhmanāni]

159 For this query of Professor Weber, compare note 139 But I cannot help asking how he reconciles the statement of the note to Vol I p 57, just quoted, where he speaks of Patañjali in terms of that assurance which can only proceed from personal knowledge, — with his repeated avowal of not having read the Mahābhāshya, and with the text itself of p 57 to which this note refers, since he is doubtful even there whether the Calcutta editors have taken their instances to IV 3, 105 from Patañjali or not ? As a guess, his attributing the words याज्ञवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि to Patañjali happens to be quite correct, but it would have been certainly much better to give it distinctly as such, than leave us doubtful now as to the nature of other statements of his

we have really to understand the Śatapatha-brāhmana itself, or in general, Brāhmanas only, which were *composed* by Yājñavalkya, or such as merely *treated* of him In the former case, it would follow, too, from his proved contemporaneousness with Uddālaka, and from Uddālaka's preceding Pāndu, that the epoch of Pāndu is later than that of Pānini" But (vol ii p 393) he observes "By the Yājñavalkāni-brāhmanāni[160] we, probably, have not to understand those [Brāhmanas] which have been *composed* by Yājñavalkya himself, but those which merely *treated* of him, and a specimen of these is preserved us in the Yājñavalkīyam kāndam of the Vrhadāranyaka (see my Akad Vorles p 155-26), therefore, if this [my] second view is correct the contemporaneousness of Yājñavalkya and Uddālaka with Pānini, which is the necessary consequence of my first view, would fall to the ground, together with Pānini's preceding Pāndu, whose priority in time is again the consequence of such a contemporaneousness"[161]

160 Professor Weber again writes "*Yājñavalkyāni*" Being compelled, therefore, to abandon the hypothesis of an error of the pre s, the more so as the same "*Yājñavalkyāni brāhmanāni*" make their reappearance, in their *alphabetical place*, in his Index to the first two volumes of the "Indische Studien"—I must refer him for the correct form "*Yājñavalkāni*" to Pānini VI 4, 151 —It is needless for me to say that the "*editor*" of Pānini likewise writes याज्ञवल्क्यानि IV 2, 66 and 2, 105, intending probably to improve on the Calcutta edition, which IV 3, 105 writes याज्ञवल्कानि, but IV 2, 66 याज्ञवल्क्यानि *Habent sua fata libelli!*

161 The self-quotation of Professor Weber (Akad Vorles p 125, 126) need not be repeated here, since it merely contains the same conjecture that the *Yājñavalkāni* (correctly written in the Akad Vorles, but re quoted from this work "*Yājñavalkāni*" in the Ind Stud vol II p 390) *brāhmanāni* are the same as the *Yājñavalkīyam-kāndam* which *treats of* Yājñavalkya —The text of the quotations given above, it is superfluous for me to mention, is in German To save space I have confined myself to communicating merely a translation of it which, I trust, no one will find wanting in strictest fairness and literal accuracy The words between brackets, marked [ ] are my own parenthetical explanations, as the reader will easily see for himself The italics in the quotation are Professor Weber's own

There is nothing novel or remarkable in the circumstance of Professor Weber's recanting on one page what he maintained with the most specious arguments on another, or of his leaving the bewildered reader between a chaos of what are to him established facts, but however interesting it may be thus to obtain from him an autobiography of his mind, and an insight into the state of maturity in which he presents us with his researches, I must, this time, defend him against himself, and show that, *within the sphere of his own presumptive facts*, there is not the slightest ground for immolating by his last conjecture the statements contained in the first three quotations from his essays

The exception made by Kātyāyana to the rule of Pānini (IV 3,105) is contained in the word *Yājñavalka*, as we learn from the authentic comment of Patañjali. There is no proof, whatever, that it can extend to any other derivative of Yājñavalkya Whatever, therefore, be the import of the word *Yājnavalkiya*, the *Yājnavalkiyam kāndam* has nothing to do with the *Yājñavalkāni brāhmanāni* mentioned by Patañjali in reference to *our* Vārttika But in the second instance, the word *pratishedha* or "exception," used by Kātyāyana necessarily concerns works of the *same category* As little as an author could, for instance, call geology an exception to astronomy, as little, I hold, could Kātyāyana speak of an "*exception* to names of Brāhmanas when he had in his mind, *as Professor Weber thinks, the name* of a particular chapter of an Āranyaka And thirdly, this same word 'exception' in the Vārttika must likewise concern the *proclaiming* of such a work by the personage who becomes the base of the derivative, for Pānini uses the word *prokta* "proclaimed," distinctly enough in the Sūtra which is criticised by the Vārttika There would be no '*exception*,' if the formation alluded to by Kātyāyana, meant a work *treating of* the personage who is the base of the derivative But, when Professor Weber, in his "Akademische Vorlesungen" (pp 125, 126) crowns his syllogism by the remark that he prefers his last conjecture because it "appears, indeed, extremely ticklish (bedenklich)" to him "to cousider the whole Śatapatha brāhmana or as much as its last books, as bearing distinctly the name of Yājña

valkya—however much it may contain his system [?]—or as contemporaneous with, or as preceding even by little, Pānini's time," and when he adds, in the fulness of his authority, "but for the Yājñavalkīyam kāndam I have not the slightest hesitation in *doing the latter*" [*Letzteres zu thun* —what *latter* ?], I fear I should overstep the limits of *scientific* criticism, if I attached a single remark to a passage like this, which treats its readers as if the personal feelings of Professor Weber had all the weight of scientific arguments, and deals with one of the most important problems of Sanskrit literature in such a manner as if it were a matter for table talk

Before I proceed in my observation on the point at issue, I will state the views of Professor Muller on this Vārttika He writes (p 353) ' In the same sense Pānini, or rather his editor, says in the first Vārttika to IV 3, 105, that there were modern Brāhmanas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya, and that their title differed by its formation from the title given to more ancient Brāhmanas," and (p 363) "It is wrong, for instance, to speak of the Yājñavalkyās in the same sense as we speak of the Taittirīyas, and the works promulgated by Yājñavalkya, although they are Brāhmanas, are called Yājñavalkyāni [*sic*] Brāhmanāni 'And why ?' says Kātyāyana, ' because they are of too recent an origin, that is to say, they are almost contemporaneous with ourselves ' "

Where, I must now ask, does Kātyāyana speak of Brāhmanas ' *more* ancient" than the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Yājñavalkya? and where, I must further ask, does he say that the latter are *almost* contemporaneous ? Again, what proof has Professor Weber that Kātyāyana meant by contemporaneous, as he says (see above, p 134), *contemporaneous with Pānini* ? and what proof has Professor Muller that Kātyāyana implied by this word *contemporaneous with himself* ? Assuredly, all these questions ought to have been settled first, and by very substantial proofs, before an edifice of chronology was allowed to be built on them Not only does Kātyāyana nowhere indicate a *degree*, either in the relative age of the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya and those subject to the Sūtra of Pānini, or in the contemporaneousness of

the former with him,—but, in my opinion, the word *pratishedha* '*exception*' already adverted to, is altogether fatal to the ellipsis supplied by Professors Weber and Muller when they refer to the word *contemporaneous* This word '*exception* clearly proves that Kātyāyana could never have held the dialogue with which Muller enlivens the scene of the Vārttika For if the Brāhmanas spoken of in the Vārttika, were contemporaneous with Panini or with Kātyāyana, the Vārttika would have made an *addition*, not an *exception* to the rule of Pānini, since the latter merely treats of such Brāhmanas as are *old* from his point of view, and is no wise concerned with any Brāhmanas of *his* time

In short, the Vārttika can, on account of the word *exception*, convey no other sense than that Pānini himself was *guilty of an inaccuracy, by omitting to state that the Brāhmanas* which had been proclaimed by Yājñavalkya (and others) were exempt from his Sūtra IV 3, 105, *these Brāhmanas being as those which he had in view when he gave this rule*

Did the words of the Vārttika, such as they are printed in the Calcutta edition, admit of the slightest doubt — if interpreted *properly,—or had the inferences drawn from them been* propounded with less conseqnence, and did not the discussion I have raised concern a principle, viz the method of examining the relation of Kātyāyana to Pānini, the course I should have taken, in refuting the opinion of Professors Weber and Muller would have been a different one I should have at one stated the fact, that the inadvertence of the Calcutta editors of Pānini — (need I repeat that Dr Boehtlingk's reprint is as conscientious in this case as in *all analogous instances* ?) — has skipped *two words* which belong to the Vārttika, — words, which, indeed, are not absolutely required for a correct understanding of the Vārttika, but the presence of which would have prevented as much as the possibility of a misconception, however inattentive the reader of the Vārttika might be These words are no other than the words of Pānini's Sūtra itself, which Kātyāyana, no doubt with the distinct purpose of obviating the very possibility of a misunderstanding, has embodied

again in his Vārttika in placing them before his own critical remark. In short, the Vārttika runs thus "Among the Brāhmanas and Kalpas, which are proclaimed by an *old* one (or by the *old*), there is an exception in reference to Yājñavalkya, on account of the contemporaneousness," viz, *of these latter Brāhmanas with the old Brāhmanas spoken of by Pānini*. In this sense, then, Patañjali remarks, after having named the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya and Sulabha, "Why (is there an exception to these?) 'On account of the contemporaneousness,' that is to say, because they, *too*, are of the same time," and Kaiyyata adds '*because they belong to the same time as the Brāhmanas proclaimed by Śātyāyana and so on*.'[162]

The ground on which we now stand is once more the ground we have occupied before. And when I previously asked whether it is likely that Pānini could have blundered in conjugating or declining a common word, or whether he was not proficient enough to use the expression "eatable," or whether he could have ignored the meaning of Āranyaka, — I must now add the question whether he was likely to give a rule which, by an essential omission, would have vitiated the name of a

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162 Pānini, IV 3, 105 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु — Kātyāyana पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधस्तुल्यकालत्वात् ।— Patañjali पुराणप्रोक्तेष्वित्यत्र याज्ञवल्क्यादिभ्यः प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि । सौलभानि । किं कारणम् । तुल्यकालत्वात् । एतान्यपि तुल्यकालानीति — Kaiyyata तुल्यकालत्वादिति । शाट्यायनादिप्रोक्तैर्ब्राह्मणैरेककालत्वादित्यर्थः For the sake of greater clearness, and in order to anticipate any objection, I will mention, that the Sūtra of Pānini itself precedes the words of the Vārttika in the MS E I H 330, whence this passage is quoted, so that there can be no assumption of a meaningless repetition of the words पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु । Moreover, the beginning of Patañjali's commentary on the Vārttika, and his method of commenting as explained above, is sufficient to remove all doubt—if any still existed—that they belong to the Vārttika.—Professor Benfey, too is therefore mistaken, when, in his learned and valuable "*Vollständige Grammatik der Sanskritsprache*" (§ 518) he says, "it has been explicitly stated [viz by our Vārttika] that Yājñavalkya and some others do not belong to the *old*."

principal Brāhmana ? Could he have ignored that name which stands foremost amongst all the authors of Brāhmanas ? So much so, that we have heard only by name of the Brāhmanas of Bhallu, Śātyāyana, and Sulabha, but are full of the Śatapathabrāhmana, proclaimed by Yājñavalkya ?

In my belief there is but this alternative either Patañjali, who mentions the Bhāllavins, together with other Brāhmanas, in his comment on the Vārttika 26 to IV 2, 104, is correct in saying that the Brāhmana of Yājñavalkya is coeval with them, *in this case all these Brāhmanas must have been unknown to* Pānini, and other Brāhmanas must have been before his mind's eye, when he wrote the Sūtra IV 3, 105, or Pānini *did* know and *meant* to imply in his rule the Brāhmana of Bhallu, and of others named by Patañjali, — then the error must be on Patañjali's side, when he asserts that Yājñavalkya was their contemporary I say purposely, it must be an error of Patañjali, *for there is no evidence to show that Kātyāyana alluded to Bhallu*, for instance, when he speaks of contemporaries of Yājñavalkya, he may have referred, for aught we know, to proper names belonging to other old authorities — old from Pānini's point of view, and his error would then have consisted in making Yājñavalkya the contemporary of the personages who were the authors of those old works

Yet both — the error of Patañjali and the error of Kātyāyana — become explainable on the assumption that there is *such a considerable period of time between Pānini and Kātyāyana, and much more so between Pānini and Patañjali* that Kātyāyana even could consider as "old" that which was not only not old, but in all probability did not yet exist in Pānini's time

It is curious, though I lay no stress on this circumstance, that the *Kāsikā-vrtti should pass over in silence the whole Vārttika of Kātyāyana* but should, in giving the counter instance, "Yājñavalkāni Brāhmanāni," add "Why does this rule of Pānini (restrict the formation of Brāhmana-names with the affix *in*) to those Brāhmanas proclaimed by the 'old'? Because the Brāhmanas of Yājñavalkya, etc, are called Yājña-

valkāni Brāhmanāni, etc, for, *according to legendary reports, these and similar Brāhmanas do not belong to a remote time*.[163] Thus, on traditional grounds — which we should have thanked Jayāditya if he had designated in more precise terms — the Kāśikā, too, discards the notion of the *Yājñavalkāni Brāhmanāni* being an exception to the much-qoted rule of Pānini On the contrary, it looks, as we see, on the derivative *Yājñavalka* as a counter-instance, which confirms the statement of Pānini, but, I hold that this commentary was wanting in judgment when it passed over in silence the Vārttika of Kātyāyana, since the latter, by its very mistaken reproach, affords us a valuable *means of judging on the chronological relation between Pānini* and Kātyāyana

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Before I support with further arguments the conclusions I have drawn with regard to this chronological relation between *the two grammarians, it will be expedient to take a cursory* view of the *principal categories* of *known* ancient writings not already mentioned, acquaintance with which, on the one hand, is shown by Pānini himself, and the existence of which, on the other, may either be assumed to fall within a period not very distant from the time when Pānini wrote, or in his time, *to be open to doubt, on account of the reasons previously* alleged

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163 The commentary of the Kāsikā on this Sūtra which, as in general is much better and more clearly worded than the comment of the Calcutta Pandits, runs thus (MS E I H 2440) प्रत्ययार्थविशेषणमेतत् । तृतीयान्तमर्थात्प्रोक्ते णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति । यत्तत्प्रोक्तं पुराणप्रोक्तञ्चेत् । ब्राह्मणकल्पास्ते भवन्ति । पुराणेन चिरन्तनेनर्षिणा प्रोक्त पुराणप्रोक्तम् । ब्राह्मणेषु तावत् । भाल्लविन शाण्डायनिन (should be शाट्यायनिन)। ऐतरेयिण ॥ कल्पेषु । पैङ्गी कल्प । आरुणपराजी ॥ पुराणप्रोक्तेष्विति किम् । याज्ञवल्कानि ब्राह्मणानि । आश्मरथ कल्प । याज्ञवल्क्यादयो हि न चिरकाला इत्याख्यानेषु वार्ता I may add, that the Siddhānta Kaumudī also makes no mention of the Vārttika of Kātyāyana but, in reference to our question, merely contains these words (p 81 *b* line 1) पुराणेति किम् । याज्ञवल्कानि (misedited याज्ञवल्क्यानि ब्राह्मणानि ।

Since Pānini teaches, in the rule I have so often referred to, that all ancient Brāhmanas and Kalpa works bear names which end in the (technical) affix *nini*, the names of the former, by the common consent of all commentators, ancient and modern, being used in the plural only, we are justified in inferring that none of the works of the category now preserved in manuscript, so far as my knowledge goes, are ancient works from Pānini's point of view That one of them, at least, the Kalpa work of Kātyāyana, cannot have existed in Pānini's time, would be the consequence of the foregoing inquiry, but I should not venture to say more than I have said of the other ritual books of the same category

Again, if the conclusion I drew as to Pānini's not having been acquainted with the *Āranyakas* be correct, it would imply, of necessity, that the *Upanishads* could not have existed when he lived, since they are a further development of this class of works, and this conclusion, again, strengthers the arguments I have adduced for the non-existence, in Pānini's time, of the Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā, arranged by Yājñavalkya, for an important Upanishad, the *Īsa-Upanishad* is the last portion of this version of the Yajurveda [164]

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164 Pānini mentions the word *Upanishad* once, viz I 4, 79, but not in the sense of a sacred work It occurs twice in the Ganas, viz, to IV 3, 73 and 4, 12, in the former it has the sense of such a work, but it is doubtful whether it has in the latter also —In a note at page 325, Professor Muller gives a detailed account of the history of *Anquetil du Perron's Oupnekhat*, "which contains the translation of fifty Upanishads from Persian into Latin" Since his bibliographical sketch cannot fail to be of much interest and use to many of his readers, it will not be superfluous to correct a mistake of his when he states that the *French translation* of Anquetil du Perron was "not published It was not published *entirely*, but in the well known work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil, Rennell, and Bernoulli "*Description historique et geographique de l Inde* etc *Berlin vol I second edition*, 1791, *vol II* 1786, *vol III* 1788," the second part of the second volume contains his translation "en francois barbare," as the author himself calls it, of the "*Oupnekhat Narain (tire') de l Athrban Bad*" (p 297 ff), of the "*Oupnekhat tadiv*

That Pānini was conversant, not only with a *Black Yajur-*

(*tire'*) *du Djedjr Beid*" (p 301 ff), of the "*Oupnekhat Athrbsr* (*tire'*) *de l' Athrban Beid*" (p 308 ff) and of the "*Oupnekhat Sehat Roudri* (*tire'*) *du Djedjr Beind*" (p 323 ff) The same volume also contains an interesting paper of his "*nouvelles preuves que l'Oupnekhat ne parle nulle part du Kaliougam, ni des trois autres Iougams*" (Table des Articles, p 546 ff) —There is another work published anonymously, which comprises, besides other interesting matter, translations in German of portions of Oriental works, the first volume of this work—the only one that appeared, I belive—bears the title "*Sammlung Asiatischer Original Schriften —Indische Schriften —Zurich*, 1791," and contains, amongst others, a German translation of the first three Upanishads published in the work of Tieffenthaler, Anquetil du Perron etc As this volume is curious and of great scarcity, I subjoin a list of its contents, as given by the author himself "*Bagavadam Teueta Der Talapoeng Reg Patimuk Des Fo Buch Upnekhat Mahabarat Ind.Raschah Ambertkend Bedang Schaster Dirm Schaster Neadirsen Goetter Verzeichniss Schastah-Bade Lords Sehaster Tirunamalei Ramesuram Ram suram Phil Gespräch Sastiram*" —A note appended to the translation of the "Upnekhat Athrbsar," at p 286 of this work, drew may attention to "*A prayer direc ed by the Brāhmaṇas to be offered up to the Subreme Being written originally in the Shanscrit language, and translated by C W Boughton Rouse, Esq from a Persie Version of Dara Shekoo, a son of Jah Jehan Emperor of Hindostan* —which prayer is appended to the "*Ins i utes of Timour*, by *Joseph White* (Oxford, 1783), for the note in question says that this prayer is a free and abridged version, from the Persian, of the same Upnekhat Athrbsar (or Upanishad Atharvasiras) But having compared them, I cannot convince myself that such is the case, though the ideas expressed in both compositions have much similarity — In passing, I may mention, also, that this same prayer attracted the attention of the "Monthly Review of 1783, and, in consequence, that of *August Hennings* in his interesting work, *Versuch einer Ostindischen Litteratur-Geschichte nebst einer kritischen Beurtheilung der Æchtheit der Zend Bucher Hamburg und Kiel*, 1786" This work, which is extremely rare, bears testimony to the extensive scholarship of its author, it gives a critical review — more or less detailed—of 114 works, and has an Appendix, entitled "*Grundlage zu einem vollstandigen Verzeichnisse aller Schriften die*

veda,[165] but with a *Rg*-and and a *Sāma-veda*, is borne out by several Sūtras of his We may expect, too, that he, like every other Hindu, looked upon the Rgveda as the principal Veda, and this assumption is confirmed by the circumstance of his calling a *Pāda* of the Rgveda simply *the "Pāda'* without the addition of the word Rk [166] But there is no evidence to show that he knew an *Atharvaveda* The word *atharvan*, it is true, occurs three times, but only in the Ganas to his rules, and there even only as the name of a priest We may add, also, that the word *ātharvanika* is found in two Sūtras (IV 3, 133, and VI 4, 174), where it is explained by Patañjali as meaning "the office and the sacred record of the Atharvan," — that Patañjali confirms the occurrence of the word *atharvan* in the Gana to the Sūtra IV 2, 63, where it can only mean a literary work, and, besides, that the word *ātharvana* occurs twice in the Ganas [167] Yet even the testimony of Patañjali cannot entirely remove the uncertainty which, as we have seen above, must always adhere to the Ganas as evidence for or against Pānini,

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Ostindien und die damit verbundene Lander betreffen, In alphabetischer Ordnung als ein Anhang zur Litteratur-Geschichte Ostindiens Hamburg" This Appendix contains the titles of not less than 1372 works of the 16th, 17th and 18th century, referring to the history, "antiquities, nations, languages religions, and the natural history of India," many of which are unknown not only to me, but to several Oriental scholars, librarians, and bibliographers whom I have consulted about them

165 See note 153

166 For his knowledge of the *Rgveda*, compare VI 3, 55, 133, VII 4, 39, etc , for the occurrence of *pāda* VI 1, 115, VII 1, 57, VIII 1, 18, etc , for *Sāmaveda*, I 2, 34, IV 2, 7, V 2, 59, etc

167 For *Atharvan*, see the Ganas to IV 2, 38 and 63, (it occurs, too, in a Vārttika to IV 3, 133) For *Ātharvanika*, IV 3, 133 , VI 4, 174 and the Ganas to IV 2, 63 and (in the Kāśikā) 60 , for *Ātharvana* the Ganas to IV 2, 38 and 63 and (in the Kāśikā) 60 — On IV 3, 133, Patañjali remarks, after the words of the Sutra आथर्वणो धर्म । आथर्वण आम्नाय । इदमाथर्वणानाम् । आथर्वणिकाभ्यश्च चतुर्ग्रहणं क्रियते । वसन्तादिष्वथर्वशब्द आथर्वणशब्दश्च (comp IV 2, 63) यथा नैषद्यानाये (VI 4, 174) प्रकृतिभावार्थं ग्रहणं क्रियते etc

with the exception of their first work, mentioned by himself, or such of their words as are referred to by other rules of his Nor does the occurrence of the word *ātharvaṇika* in the two Sūtras quoted necessarily confirm the interpretation of Patañjali It may there only mean the office of an Ātharvan priest, who, probably, was employed in the performance of sacrificial acts In short, there is no valid ground for attributing to Pānini a knowledge of the fourth and least sacred Veda, the Atharva-veda, and this doubt derives some additional weight from the fact that, though the word *Angiras* one of the reputed Rshis of the Atharva-veda, is mentioned in a Sūtra (II 4, 65), neither the compound *Atharvāngirasas*, nor its derivative, *Ātharvāngirasa*, is met with in the Sūtras of Pānini, though the former is the name, as well of the two seers of the Atharva-veda, as especially of the hymns of this Veda itself, — while the latter means the observances connected with the Atharva-veda, and would have deserved a place amongst grammatical rules

In the last chapter of his learned work, Professor Muller gives instances of hymns which he considers as belonging to the oldest portion of Vaidika literature It seems difficult to follow his arguments so as to arrive at a settled conviction on this point, for the reasons he gives in assigning these hymns to the earliest portions of Hindu poetry rest on impressions so individual, that assent or dissent of those who read the Rg-veda hymns will depend much on their own disposition I should, for instance, for my part, hesitate very much to assign to a hymn which speaks of thirty three gods[168] a place amongst the most ancient hymns, since it betrays, in my opinion, a very artificial and developed condition of religiousness, and a considerable deviation from what I hold to be the primitive feeling of the human mind The impression I derive from another hymn, a poetic version of which Professor Muller gives (p 564), and a prose translation of which we owed already to Colebrooke (Misc Ess I p 33), would be to the same effect,—that it belongs, not to the earliest, but to the very latest hymns of the Rgveda-Sanhitā, for it seems to me that a song

168 Müller s Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 531

which begins, "There was no entity, no non-entity death was not, nor was there immortality," and concludes "Then who can know whence it proceeded, or whence this varied world arose, or whether it upheld itself, or not ? He who, in the highest heaven, is the ruler of this universe, does indeed know, but not another can possess that knowledge"—it seems to me that such a song must be already the result of the greatest struggles of the human heart the full grown fruit of a long experience in thought, — in other words, that it marks the end, and not the beginning, of a phase of religious development

I agree with Muller in one important point, viz (p 566) that " the evidence of language is the most decisive for settling the relative age of Vedic hymns," and It should have agreed with him still more if he had said that it is the only safe criterion with a European of the nineteenth century to settle this point Therefore, when he adds that "the occurrence of such a word as *tadānīm* is more calculated to rouse doubts as to the early date of this [last named] hymn than the most abstruse metaphysical ideas which may be discovered in it," — though I do not share the opinion expressed in this latter word,— I hold the adverb he mentions to be quite sufficient authority for removing this hymn from the earliest portion of Hindu songs

But setting aside our personal feelings, which, after all, are of no consequence, we cannot be indifferent about learning what Pānini considered to be the older or the more recent Vaidika hymns A direct opinion on this point we can scarcely expect to obtain from himself, but indirect evidence of his own impressions, or, more probably of the tradition current in his time, I believe may be collected from his Sūtras; and, however scanty it be, and however much we may think we may be able, without his aid, to arrive at a similar result in regard to the hymns I am going to name, it will not be superfluous to advert to it here The hymns of the Rgveda—and, consequently, those collected from it for the version of the Sama-, and the two other Vedas—were "seen," as I have shown

above (p 62), by the Rshis, who received them from a divinity This general belief was, as I there proved, shared in by Pānini, who, therefore, was not so unshackled by the inspiration doctrine as Professor Muller represents him to have been in his discussion on old and new Brāhmanas [169] But there is a marked difference in the language he uses when speaking at one time of one category, and, at another, of another category of hymns, and it is this difference which induces me to express a doubt whether he looked upon all Vaidika hymns as *immediate* revelations from above

In his Sūtras IV 2, 7 to 9, he teaches the formation of words expressing the name of Sāmavedahymns, and he applies to the latter the word '*seen* i e received by inspiration from the divinity In the Sūtra IV 3, 101, on the other hand, he heads a chapter, which comprises the next ten rules, with the words, *proclaimed by him,* which words imply that the Vaidika composition—the names of which he teaches the student to form in these rules— were *promulgated* by the Rshis, whose names are the bases of the several derivatives [170] That these two different expressions were chosen by Pānini deliberately, results from the contents of the last named rules They contain amongst others (IV 3, 105), names of Kalpa works, which, at no period of the Hindu religion, were "seen" or ascribed to superhuman authorship This words '*proclaimed*' has also been noticed especially by Kātyāyana and Patañjali, who judge as follows of its import in these rules — *Kātyāyana* "(It might seem that) this word 'proclaimed' is purposeless, since no affix is visible in (certain) derivatives (which imply its sense) "—*Patañjali* "Why is it purposeless ? 'Because,' says Kātyāyana, 'no affix is visible' That is to say,

169 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 361 "Pānini, whose views *are not shackled by the inspiration—doctrine which blinded and misled* all the followers of the orthodox Mīmānsā school, broadly states the fact that there are old and new Brāhmanas, etc "

170 IV 2, 7 दृष्टं साम —IV 3, 101 तेन प्रोक्तम् —Praudha manorama प्रकर्षेणोक्तं प्रोक्तम् । अध्यापनेनार्थव्याख्यानेन वा प्रकाशितमित्यर्थः । प्रकर्षेणेति वचनान्नेह । देवदत्तेनाध्यापितम् Compare the following note

if 'proclaimed' means that the Vaidika version of the Kālāpas or Kāthakas is *recited* village for village, a derivative implying such a sense has no (special) affix" — *Kātyāyana* "(It is purposeless, too) if applied to the sense 'book,' for (in this sense) an affix is taught (elsewhere)' —*Patañjali* "There *is* an affix, if the sense 'composed, as a book,' is implied by it, but such an affix is provided for another rule of Pānini, viz, IV 3, 116 Could we, then, consider this word 'proclaimed' (in our rule) as used in reference to the Veda? But again, the Vedas are not made (like a book), they are permanent (or eternal)"—*Kātyāyana* "If (however, one should assert that this word) concerns the Veda, (he could be correct, provided that he meant to impart to the word 'proclaimed') a *figurative* sense"—*Patañjali* (after repeating these latter words) "Is it not said, however, that 'the Vedas are not *made, but that they are permanent (i e, eternal)*? (*Quite* so), yet, though their sense is permanent, the order of their letters has not always remained the same, and it is through the difference in the latter respect that we may speak of the versions of the Kathas, Kalāpas, Mudakas, Pippalādakas, and so on"[171] Now, whatever opinion we may entertain of

171 Pānini तेन प्रोक्तम् —Kātyāyana प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकं तत्रादर्शनात् —Patañjali प्रोक्तग्रहणमनर्थकम्। किं कारणम्। तत्रादर्शनात्। ग्रामे ग्रामे कालापकं काठकञ्च प्रोच्यते। न तत्र प्रत्ययो दृश्यते —Kātyāyana ग्रन्थे च दर्शनात् —Patañjali यत्र च दृश्यते ग्रन्थः स भवति तत्र कृते ग्रन्थ इत्येव सिद्धम् (IV 3, 116)। छन्दोऽर्थं तर्हि वक्तव्यम्। न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते। नित्यानि छन्दांसि —Kātyāyana छन्दोऽर्थमिति चेत्तुल्यम् —Patañjali छन्दोऽर्थमिति चेत्तुल्यमेतद्भवति। [The MS contains here a repetition, which is evidently a mistake of the copyist] ननु चोक्तं न हि छन्दांसि क्रियन्ते नित्यानि छन्दांसीति। यद्यप्यर्थो नित्यः। या त्वसौ वर्णानुपूर्वी सानित्या तद्भेदाच्चैतद्भवति 'काठकं' 'कालापकं' मौदकं पैप्पलादकमिति। न तर्हीदानीमिदं वक्तव्यम्। वक्तव्यञ्च। किं प्रयोजनम्। यत्तेन प्रोक्तं न च तेन कृतम्। माथुरी [*cf* Kaiyyata माथुरी] वृत्तिः। यदि तर्हि (कृत)स्य विवक्षास्ति। इदमेव वक्तव्यम्। तत्र वक्तव्यम्। तदप्यवश्यं वक्तव्यम्। यत्तेन कृतं न च तेन प्रोक्तं वाररुचं काव्यम्। जालूका श्लोकाः —Kaiyyata प्रपूर्वो वचिः प्रकाशनेऽध्यापनरूपे वा वर्तते करणे वा। तत्राद्येऽर्थे प्रत्ययो न दृश्यते। द्वितीये तु सूत्रान्तरेण (*i e* IV 3, 116) सिद्धमिति तत्राह। प्रोक्तग्रहणमिति ग्रामे ग्राम इति। सुशर्मा दाना प्रतिग्रामं प्रवक्तृ वेदमि सुशर्मणा प्रोक्तं काठकमसौशर्मणमिति [probably (sic.

Patañjali's accounting for the various versions of the Vaidika texts, it is evident that Pāṇini — who comprises Kalpas under

Edn) काठकम्। सौ] प्रयोगो न दृश्यत इत्यर्थं । नित्यानाति। कर्तुरस्मरणात्तेषामिति भाव । या त्वसाविति। महाप्रलयादिषु वर्णानुपूर्वाविनाशे पुनरुत्पद्य (MS पुनन्तपद्य) ऋषय सस्कारातिशयाद्वेदार्थं स्मृत्वा शब्दरचना विदधतीत्यर्थं (MS विद्दनीत्यर्थं)। तद्भेदादिति। आनुपूर्वीभेदादित्यर्थं । ततश्च कठादयो वेदानुपूर्व्या कर्तार एव न तु स्थिताया एव सुशर्मादिवत्प्रवक्तार । ततश्च च्छन्दस्यपि कृते ग्रन्थ इत्येव (IV 3, 116) सिद्ध प्रत्यय इति भाव । माथुरीति। माथुरेण प्रथमत प्रकाशितेत्यर्थं। (IV 3, 108) कलापिनोऽणित्यण्ग्रहणस्याधिकविधानार्थं छाद्वृद्धादप्यत्राण्भवति (MS °थद्वाद्वृद्धा°°)। द्विविधश्चेह प्रोक्त गृह्यते परकृत स्व(कृ)त वा यत्प्रकाशित तेन प्रोक्ताधिकार एव कठादिभ्यो वक्ष्यमाणप्रत्ययविधानम्—Nāgojibhaṭṭa : तेन प्रोक्तम्। कालापककाठकयोर्गोत्रचरणाद्वुञ् (IV 3, 126) धर्माम्नाययोरिति बोध्यम्। प्रपूर्वो वचिरिति। अध्यापनरूपे प्रकाशने वा [both MSS of the E I H, No 350 and 1209, in the same order] वर्तते करणे वे यम्वय । ननु काठकमित्यादौ प्रत्ययदर्शनात्र प्रत्ययो दृश्यत इत्यनुपपन्नमत आह। सुशर्मादीनामिति। भाष्ये ग्रन्थे चेति तेन कृते ग्रन्थ इत्यर्थं (IV 3, 116)। ग्रन्थ स इति तेन कृतो ग्रन्थ स इत्यर्थं । अशेन वेदस्य नित्यत्व स्वीकृत्यांशेनानित्यत्वमाह। यद्यप्यर्थ इति। अनेन वेदत्व शब्दार्थोभयवृत्तिध्वनितम् (MS 1209 °त्तिनिध्व°, perhaps °त्तिरितिध्व°)। ननु धाता यथा पूर्वमकल्पयदित्यादिश्रुतिबलेनानुपूर्व्यपि सैवेति नव्यपूर्वमीमासासिद्धान्तात्सा नित्येत्ययुक्तमत आह। महाप्रलयादिष्विति। आनुपूर्व्यास्तत्तत्क्षणघटितत्वेनानित्यत्वमिति भाव इति केचित्। तन्न। यद्यप्यर्थो नित्य इत्यादिवाक्यशेषविरोधात्। अर्थस्यापि ज्योतिष्टोमादेरनित्यत्वात्। प्रवाहाविच्छेदेन नित्यत्व तूभयोरपि तस्मान्मन्वन्तरभेदेनानुपूर्वी भिन्नैव। प्रतिमन्वन्तर चैषा श्रुतिरन्या विधीयत इत्युक्तेरित्यन्ये। परे तु। अर्थो नित्य इत्यत्र कृतकत्वविरोध्यनित्यत्वस्यैवाभ्युपगम पूर्वपक्षिणा तादृशनित्यत्वस्यैव च्छन्द सूक्ते। एवं चार्थशब्देनात्रेश्वर । मुख्यतया तस्यैव सर्ववेदतात्पर्यविषयत्वात्। वेदैश्च सर्वैरहमेव वेद्य इति गीतोक्तेरित्याहु (XV 15)। वर्णानुपूर्व्या अनित्यत्वे मानमाह तद्भेदाच्चेति। अनित्यत्वव्याप्यभेदेन तत्सिद्धि । भेदोऽत्र नानात्वम्। ईश्वरे तु न नानात्व (? MS ननत्व ?)। भेदे मान व्यवहारमाह। काठकेत्यादि। अर्थैक्येऽप्यानुपूर्वीभेदादेव काठक कालापकादिव्यवहार इति भाव अत्रानुपूर्व्यनित्ये युक्ते पदानि तान्येवेति ध्वनित तदाह। ततश्च कठादय इत्यधिक मञ्जूषाया द्रष्टव्यम्। ननु माथुराद्वृद्धाच्छेन भाव्यमत आह (comp IV 2, 114)। कलापिनोऽणिति (IV 3, 108)। नन्वेव कठादिभ्य प्रोक्ताधिकारे प्रत्ययविधान व्यर्थम्। तन्न। यत्प्रोक्त न च तेन कृतमित्यर्थबाधादत आह। द्विविधश्चेति प्रोक्ताधिकार एवेति। कृतग्रहणेन स्वाप्रकाशितस्वकृतस्यैव ग्रहणादिति भाव [Obvious misspellings in the MSS —especially in MS 350, which here is more indifferent than MS 1209—whence this passage is taken have been left unnoticed by me The text here given is, in my opinion, as correct as the MSS in question will allow to edit it]

the term 'proclaimed' — looked upon the works, the names of which are taught in these rules, *not* as *having been 'seen'* or received *immediately* from the divinity They must, in his mind, therefore, belong to a later period than the Sāmaveda hymns which he treats of in the rules VI 2 7-9 as having been '*seen*' Nor would there be anything remarkable in this

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I have quoted the full gloss of the three principal commentators on this important Sûtra and its Vārttikas, because it is of considerable interest in many respects and, at the same time, bears out my statement at page 65 We see Kaiyyata and Nāgojibhaṭṭa writhing under the difficulty of reconciling the eternity of the Veda with the differences of its various versions which nevertheless maintain an equal claim to infallibility Patañjali makes *rather short work of this much vexed* question, and unless it be allowed here to render his expression *varna* (which means 'letter'), "word," it is barely possible even to understand how he can save consistently the eternity or permanence of the 'sense of the Veda That the modern Mīmāṃsists maintain not only *the 'eternity of the sense' but also the 'permanence of text,' which* is tantamount to the exclusive right of one single version, we learn, amongst others, from Nāgojibhaṭṭa But as such a doctrine has its obvious dangers, it is not shared in by the old Mīmāṃsists, nor by Nāgoji, as he tells us himself He and Kaiyyaṭa inform us therefore that, *amongst other* theories, there is one, according to which the order of the letters (or, rather, words) in the Vaidika texts got lost in the several *Pralayas* or destructions of the worlds, and, since each *Manvantara* had its own revelation, which differed only in the expression, not in the sense of the Vaidika texts, the various versions known to these commentators *represent these successive revelations* which were "remembered," through "their excessive accomplishments," by the Rshis, who, in this manner, produced, or rather reproduced, the texts current in their time, under the name of the versions of the Kathas, Kalāpas, and so on In this way each version had an equal claim to sanctity There is a *very interesting discussion on the same* subject by *Kumārila*, in his *Mīmānsā-Vārttika* (I 3, 10) I forbear, however, quoting it on the present occasion on account of its great length, and because I hope to be able to give it in a more appropriate place

view, if it merely referred to the Brāhmana works which also are the subject of his rules, for this class of inspired literature is looked upon by all the authorities as being inferior in degree, and, I hold therefore, less immediate, as an emanation than the hymns of the Sanhitās But there occurs in midst of these rules one (IV 3, 106) which contains the word *Chhandas*, which, being contradistinguished from the word *Brāhmana* in the preceding rule (IV 3, 105), cannot have there any other sense than that of *Mantra*, as I have shown above, or, if it should be thought that it is contrasted there with Kalpa as well as with Brāhmana in the preceding rule, it would mean Veda in general—Mantra *and* Brāhmana And, in connection with this word Pānini writes, *'Śaunaka'* Śaunaka, however, we know, from Sāyana's commentary on the Rgveda and the Anukramani, was the Rshi who is supposed to be the author of the second Mandala, as we now possess it, though in a former version it appears to have belonged to the Rshi Grtsamada [172]

Should, then, my view of Pānini's rule be correct, it will follow that Pānini considered this second Mandala as of a later date than the other Mandalas, and we cannot but admit that even the first hymn of the second Mandala fully confirms this impression, for, by speaking of Hotr, Potr, Neshtr, Agnīdhra, Praśāstr, Adhvaryu, and Brahmā priests, it certainly betrays a very advanced development of sacrificial and artificial rites

Mimānsā is a word of special grammatical interest, not in so far as its affix *ā* is concerned —for the latter belongs to a general category of derivatives dealt with by Pānini in his rule III 3, 102— but on account of the irregular formation of its base It must be admitted that the Sūtra I 3, 62 may

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172 Compare *Sāyana* in the beginning of his commentary on the second Mandala, Professor Wilson s detailed account in his translation, vol ii, p 207, and Professor Muller's Ancient Literature, pp 231, 232, as well as the corresponding passage from Shadgurusishya, at p 237

be looked upon as including this base also, but whether the instance *mimāns*, given by the commentators, has there the general sense of *considering*, or the special sense of the philosophical reasoning of the Mimānsā, cannot be inferred from the general tenor of this rule This latter sense is emphatically expressed by two words derived from *mimāns*, viz, *Mimānsā* the name of the philosophy, and *Mimānsaka*, a Mimānsā philosopher Neither word occurs in Pānini [173] Nor does he mention *Jaimini*, the author of the Mimānsā-Sūtra, and it *is*, perhaps, worthy of our attention, that not even the Ganas to Pānini contain the formation of this word, which is of as much interest as any other word of the Gana *Bāhvādi* (IV 1, *96*) [174]

The word *Vedānta* having no remarkable grammatical peculiarities, had no claim to the notice of Pānini, but had he been aware of the word *Vedāntin* "one who knows the Vedānta," it would certainly have required a special rule of his, since there is no Sūtra in his Grammar by which the sense of this derivative could be made ont satisfactorily And as Pānini notices but *one single word* in which the base is not a

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173 Even Kātyāyana gives no Vārttika to teach the formation of *mīmānsaka*, though this word is of some interest from a grammatical point of view Amongst those words which designate followers of a doctrine or philosophy, it is the only one formed with a *krt*-affix It occurs, *e g* as an instance of Patañjali, to I 2, 64, v 17, II 2, 29, and in a Kārikā of the latter to III 2, 123 where it is rendered by Kaiyyata *mehāraka* it occurs, too, as an instance, not in the Mahabhāshya, but the Kārikā and Siddh -k to II 1, 53, in the compound मीमांसकदुर्दुरूढ, and it is probably the property of the Calcutta Pandits, as an instance to IV 3, 9

174 With regard to Jaimini, I have only to add that the instance जैमिनिकडार or कडारजैमिनि to II 2, 38 has not yet found a place in the Bhāshya or in Kaiyyata's commentary, it occurs in Kāsikā and the Gana ratna-mahodadhi, but on what authority Jayāditya and Vardhamāna give this handsome epithet to the old Jaimini, or whether it is levelled against another Jaimini, I have no means of stating

proper name, and the affix *in* (technically *ini*) imparts to the derivative the sense of studying or knowing, viz, *anubrāhmanin*, "one who studies or knows a work like a Brāhmana" (IV 2, 62), the omission of *Vedāntin* acquires increased significance[175]

Sānkhya is a peculiar form It comes from *sankhyā*, and designates the philosophy which is based on *synthetic (sam) reasoning (khyā)* Its very name shows that it is the counterpart, as it were, of *Nyāya (ni āya)*, or the philosophy founded on '*analytical reasoning*' For while the former builds up a system of the universe, the latter dissects it into categories, and 'enters into' its component parts Yet a grammatical rule would have had to explain why the name of former system is not a *krt*-formation,—for instance, its very base, *sankhyā*, analogously to the *krt*-formation *nyāya* It has not been noticed by Pānini Nor does he teach — as he probably would have done had this philosophy existed in his time — that the same word means, as a masculine, a follower of the Sānkhya philosophy[176]

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175 In the Sūtra IV 3, 111, the affix *in* (technically, *ini*) has a similar purport, but the base implies a proper name, thus *Karmandin*, *Krsāsvin* mean "one who studies or knows the works of Karmanda, Krsāsva"

176 For the various explanations, given by native authorities, of this term, I need now refer to one essay only, since it probably comprises all the literary information—*and not only on this point*—which can be obtained in our days on Sānkhya writers, and certainly more than any one scholar in Europe would have at his command—I mean the learned and excellent preface of *Dr Hall* to his elaborate edition of the *Sānkhya Pravacana* The latter sense of the word *Sānkhya*, "a follower of the Sānkhya philosophy," occurs, *e g* in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, III 3, or, together with the word *Kānāda*, "a follower of the Vaiseshika doctrine," in the commentary of *Sankara* on the *Vedānta Sūtra*, II 3 51 बहुष्वात्मसु सर्वगतेषु प्रतिशरीरं बाह्याभ्यन्तराविशेषेण सन्निहितेषु मनोवाक्कायधर्माधर्म-लक्षणमदृष्टमुपार्ज्यते । साङ्ख्यानां तावत्तत् । काणादानामपि etc

The word *Yoga* occurs several times in the Sūtras,[177] but never in the sense of a system of philosophy, and the only two derivatives of this word which are taught by Pānini, viz, *yogya* and *yaugika* (V 1, 102) are two words which have no connection whatever with its philosophical meaning In the sense of 'religious austerity,' it *seems* to have been known by Pānini, though he has no rule on the formation of this word, apparently because it offers no other grammatical interest than that which would be satisfied by his general rules III 3, 18 and VII. 3, 52, for he has a rule on the formation of *yogin* (III 2, 142) But this word means *a man who practises religious austerities*, it does not mean a follower of the Yoga system of philosophy

That *Nyāya* was known to Pānini in the sense of *syllogism* or *logical reasoning*, or perhaps *logical science*, I conclude from the Sūtra III 3, 122,[178] where its affix conveys the sense

177 I 2, 54 55 —III 4, 20 —V 1, 102, 4, 44 47 50 126 — VI. 4, 74 75 —VIII 1, 59

178 I regret that I must again animadvert on an error of the Calcutta editors In their gloss on the Sūtra III 3, 122, they give the following etymology of न्याय, "णीञ् । नीयन्तेऽनेनेति । न्याय " According to them, this word would therefore come from नी "to lead," an etymology which, of course, is absolutely impossible Nor is there any trace of it in any of the commentaries known to me Patañjali and his commentators have no remark on this easy word The *Kāśikā*, which explains every Sūtra, writes नीयतेऽनेनेति न्याय, but neither allows these words to be preceded by "णीञ्," nor, as this quotation shows, to contain a third person of the *plural* (नीयन्ते) Its gloss obviously means, "because entering is made (नि+इयते) by it, the derivative is न्याय" The *Siddhānta-kaumudī* (fol 211 *a*, line 7) has an analogous interpretation "नियन्ति अनेन," etc, which is still more transparent But what must one think of the proficiency of an 'editor of Pānini, who has none of the laborious work—which always gives a title to indulgence—of comparing MSS and compiling a commentary, —who merely reprints the labour of others,—and yet, even in a simple case like this, does not feel induced to consult the Kāsikā or Siddhānta kaumudī, though he *talks* a great deal, even on this occasion,

of insrumentality, i e that by which analysis (*lit* entering-into) is effected, for the same form, *nyāya* is made the subject of another rule (III 3, 37), where Pānini gives as its meaning 'propriety, good conduct,' which would lead to its later meaning, 'policy' Unless we drew this distinction between the two Sūtras named, the first Sūtra would become superfluous Nor is it probable that a civilisation like that which is traceable in Pānini's rules could have done without a word for syllogistic thought But between this sense of the word *nyāya* and its designating the special system of Gautama there is a vast difference Nay, had Pānini even written the Gana IV 2, 60, which implies, in its present version, the formation *naiyāyika*, this latter word would not require us to infer that it means there a follower of Gautama's school, it may only signify a man who studies or knows the laws of syllogism [179] To substantiate this conclusion, with all the detail it deserves, would be a matter of great interest, for no philosophical school has dealt more largely with grammatical subjects than the *Nyāya* school, and its branch, the *Vaiseshika* The nature of 'sound' and word," the question whether word is 'eternal or transitory,' the 'power' or purport of words, the relation of base and affix, and such kindred matters are treated of in a vast literature based on the Sūtras of Gautama, and the controversies of the Naiyāyikas with the Vaiyākaranas or etymologists need not blush before those of our modern philosophers I must, however, confine myself on the present occasion, as heretofore, to giving a small amount of proof, that Pānini could not have known the Sūtras of Gautama

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of the Kāsikā "A B and C," but without mastering its '*a, b, c,*' simply repeats the gross blunder of the editors of his edition of Pānini !

179 To arrive at the form नैयायिक it is necessary to combine with the Gana quoted, the Sūtra VII 3, 3 The same word न्याय in the philosophical sense, occurs in the Gana to IV 3, 73, where a MS of of the Kāsikā has even the reading न्यायविद्या, and probably, in the same sense in the Gana to VIII 1, 27, but even if Pānini himself had written in there, we should not be justified in giving it a more definite sense than the one stated In the Sūtra IV, 4, 92, and the Gana to IV 3, 54, it has the sense of "propriety"

After having refuted the opinion that the sense of a word conveys either the notion of *genus* or that of *species*, or that of *individual*, each taken separately, *Gautama* continues — "1 The series of a word conveys (at the same time) as well the notion of *genus* (*jāti*), as that of *species* (*ākṛti*), as that of an *individual* (*vyakti*) 2 An individual (*vyakti*) is a bodily form as a receptacle for the particularisation of qualities 3 Species (*ākṛti*), is called the characteristic mark of genus 4 Genus (*jāti*) is that which has the property of (intellectually) producing (species) of the same kind "[180]

Let us now refer to the terminology of Pāṇini, and see how he dealt with similar notions In the first place, we find that he does not make use of a term *ākṛti* We meet, in his Grammar only with the two terms *jāti* and *vyakti* In the

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180 Nyāya Sūtras II 131—134 जात्याकृतिव्यक्तयस्तु पदार्थः ॥ व्यक्तिर्गुणविशेषाश्रयो मूर्तिः ॥ आकृतिर्जातिलिङ्गाख्या ॥ समानप्रसवात्मिका जातिः ॥—The object of Gautama is to show that *individual*, *species* and *genus* are notions which cannot be conceived, independently of one another, and that a separation of one from the other produces a fallacy In translating the term *vyakti*, stress must be laid on the word *viśesha*, "particularisation," otherwise there would be but *one* individual The same consideration induced me to differ, in my translation of *kṛti*, from Dr Ballantyne, who, in his meritorious edition and learned translation of the Nyāya Sūtras, renders this term "*from*" which undoubtedly is its usual sense in *non-philosophical* writings But when *Viśvanātha*, in his comment on the Sūtra II 124, writes आकृतिरवयवसंस्थानविशेषः and on II 133 जातिलिङ्गमित्याख्या यस्याः जातेर्गोत्वादेर्हि सास्नादिमत्संस्थानविशेषो लिङ्गम्, he intends, in my opinion, to convey the understanding, that *ākṛti* is "the *particularisation* of organisms," and "the characteristic mark of 'cowhood' is the *particularisation* of the organism of a cow," which, translated into our philosophical language, would mean that *ākṛti* is *species* In my rendering of the fourth Sūtra (II 134), the parenthetical words are borrowed from *Viśvanātha*, who comments on them thus, न तु समानाकारक प्रसवो बुद्धिजननमात्मा स्वरूपं यस्याः सा तथा च समानाकारबुद्धिजननयोग्यत्वमर्थः । There can be no doubt, therefore, that Gautama meant our term *genus*

rule I 2, 52, he speaks of (words which express) "qualities as far as a *jāti* goes,' and the instance of the *jāti*, given by Patañjali, is a tree[181] At I 2, 58, he treats of the optional use of the singular or plural "if the word expresses a *jāti*," (e g a Brāhmana or the Brāhmanas), at V 2, 133, he applies the term *jāti* to the elephant,—at V 4, 37, to herbs,—at V 4, 94, to stones and iron, a lake and a cart,—at VI 1, 143, to the fruit Kustumburu,—at VI 3, 103, to grass,—and IV 1, 63, is a rule on "*jāti*-words, which are not permanently used in the feminine gender" It is not necessary to multiply these instances, in order to show that Pānini understands by *jāti* the same thing that Gautama understands by *ākrti*, viz, *species*,[182] and I may

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181 I 2, 52 विशेषणाना चाजाते —I must observe here that the Kāsikā and, on *its authority, the* Calcutta edition, are quite at variance with Patañjali, in explaining the last words of this Sūtra, as if it had the sense च अजान Patañjali distinctly rejects such an explanation, on the ground that it is impossible to speak of qualities which are not *jātis* He rejects, too, such instance as पञ्चाला जनपद, सुभिक्षा सम्पन्न पानीय, बहुमाल्यफल, which illustrate his *purva-paksha* an instance of his conclusion is बदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्ष —Patañjali कथमिद विज्ञायते। जातिर्यद्विशेषणमिदमाहोस्विज्जातेर्यानि विशेषणानीति। किं चात । यदि विज्ञायते जातिर्यद्विशेषणमिति सिद्ध पञ्चाला जनपद इति। सुभिक्षा (MS °क्ष) सम्पन्नपानीय । बहुमाल्यफल इति न सिध्यति। अथ विज्ञायते। जातेर्यानि विशेषणानीति। सिद्ध सुभिक्ष (MS °क्ष) सम्पन्नपानीय । बहुमाल्यफल इति। पञ्चाला जनपद इति न सिध्यति। एव तर्हि नैव विज्ञायते जातिर्यद्विशेषणमिति नापि जातेर्यानि विशेषणानीति। कथ तर्हि विशेषणाना युक्तवद्भावो भवति —Vārttika आ जाते —Patañjali आ जाति प्रयोगात्। किमर्थ पुनरिदमुच्यते —Vārttika विशेषणाना वचन जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थम् —Patañjali जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थोऽयमारम्भ । किमुच्यते जातिनिवृत्त्यर्थं इति न पुनर्विशेषणानामपि युक्तवद्भावो यथा स्यादिति —Vārttika समानाधिकरणत्वात्सिद्धम् —Patañjali समानाधिकरणत्वाद्विशेषणाना युक्तवद्भावो भविष्यति। यद्येव नार्थोऽनेन लुपोऽन्यत्रापि जातेर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति। क्वान्यत्र। बदरी सूक्ष्मकण्टका मधुरा वृक्ष इति। किं पुन कारणमन्यत्रापि जातेर्युक्तवद्भावो न भवति etc —Kaiyyata अजातेरित्यसमर्थसमास । भवति नानञ सम्बन्धात्। उभयथा चान्यास्ति प्रतिषेधस्येति प्रश्न । आ जातिप्रयोगादिति सूत्र आट प्रश्लेष न तु नञ etc

182 There is indeed a Kārikā of Patañjali which explicitly corroborates this comparison which I have made between Pānini and Gautama, and which, moreover, has an additional import in affording

add at once, that he has no word at all for the notion of '*genus*'

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evidence that Gautama is prior to Patañjali I mean the Kārikā to IV 1, 63, which says आकृतिग्रहणा जातिर्लिङ्गानाञ्च न सर्वभाक् । सकृदाख्यातनिर्ग्राह्या गोत्रञ्च चरणै सह, *i e*, "*jāti* has (in Pānini) the sense of *ākrti*, it does not possess all the genders, and, once determined, is easily recognised (elsewhere), *but* it is, too, a family with its schools" The following passages from Kaiyyaṭa will bear out my translation आकृतिग्रहणा यस्या साकृतिग्रहणावयवसन्निवेशविशेषव्यङ्ग्येत्यर्थ [For these last words compare *Visvanātha's* comment on the *Nyāya-Sūtra* II 133, in note 180] । एतेन गोत्वादिजातिर्लक्षिता ब्राह्मणत्वादिस्तु न सङ्गृहीता ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियादीना सस्थानस्य सदृशत्वादिति तत्सङ्ग्रहायाह । लिङ्गानामिति, etc । सकृदिति । अथ गौरिति सकृदुपदिष्टा जातिर्निर्ग्रहीतु निश्चेतु पिण्डान्तरे शक्येत्यर्थ । गोत्रमिति । अपत्यमित्यर्थ । चरणशब्देन शाखाध्यायिनो गृह्यन्ते । गोत्रस्य सर्वलिङ्गभ्वात्पृथगुपादानम् । नाडायन नपुसकमिति दर्शनात And *after having explained the Kārikā of* "another" quoted by Patañjali, on the same subject, Kaiyyata adds, "from this quotation by Patañjali it has been inferred that the former Kārikā expresses his opinion" पूर्वोक्तमेव लक्षण भाष्यकारस्य मतम् । अपर आहेत्यभिधाना दित्याहु —On another occasion Patañjali, in adapting himself to Pānini s use of the term *jāti* (*i e* = *ākrti*), observes in a somewhat poetical strain (I 2, 52, after the last words of the quotation from the Bhāshya in note 181) आविष्टलिङ्गा जातिर्यंल्लिङ्गमुपादाय प्रवर्तते ।

उत्पत्तिप्रभृत्या विनाशात्तल्लिङ्ग न जहाति [Kaiyyata आविष्ट लिङ्ग यया साविष्टलिङ्गा नियतलिङ्गेत्यर्थ, etc] *i e*, "If *jāti* has a fixed gender,—whenever it has taken that gender, from birth to death it does not abandon that gender"—I must also call attention to another passage from the Mahābhāshya which likewise shows that *jāti* has in Pānini, Gautama's sense of *ākrti*, and which at the same time proves that Patañjali not only had a knowledge of the philosophical application of the latter term, but, when speaking in his own name uses *ākrti* in the same manner in which it is used by Gautama In the passage I am alluding to, he broaches the same problem which is proposed by the Nyāya-Sūtras but as a grammarian, and in reference to Pānini who has no term for *genus*, he comprises in his question merely the alternative whether the sense of a word *in Pānini* implies "species' (*ākrti*), or 'individuality" (*dravya*) His answer is, that it comprises both, for those who maintain the former alternative are justified in their opinion by the Sūtra I 2,

As to *vyakti*, it occurs but once in the Sūtras, viz., I 2, 51, and means there '*linga*, a generic mark, which, in grammatical terminology, is *gender* [183] The notion of individuality is not represented by a special word in the language of Pānini, the nearest approach to it is his word *adhikarana*, as it is used in the rules II 4, 13, 15, and V 3, 43, where it is rendered by the commentators by *dravya* 'substance' The term *viseshya* may be compared to *adhikarana*, but as it signifies "the object to be qualified" it is not the counterpart of *jāti*, but of *viseshana*, 'the quality' [184]

The result of the foregoing comparison between Pānini and Gautama must remove, I believe, every doubt as to the chronological position of both The expressions of Pānini show that he had not even conceived so much as the philosophical pro-

58, and those who incline towards the latter, by the Sutra I 2, 64 *Patañjali's Introduction* (ed Ballantyne, p 40–42) किं पुनराकृतिः पदार्थ आहोस्विद्द्रव्यम् । उभयमित्याह । कथं ज्ञायते । उभयथा ह्याचार्येण सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । आकृतिं पदार्थं मत्वा जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन्बहुवचनमन्यतरस्यामित्युच्यते । द्रव्यं पदार्थं मत्वा सरूपाणामेकशेष आरभ्यते —Whether *Kātyāyana*, in using the expression असर्वलिङ्गा जातिः (I 4, 1 v 3, of Calcutta edition), merely adapted himself to the manner in which Pānini uses जाति, or whether he, too, had no yet a knowledge of Gautama's definition would have remained doubtful, had he not availed himself, in another of his Vārttikas, of the term *ākriti* exactly in the sense in which it is defined by the Nyāya Sūtra—viz., in the Vārttika 5 (ed Calc) to VII 1, 74 न वा समानायामाकृतौ भाषितपुंस्कविज्ञानात्, and thought Patañjali observes that this Vārttika is superfluous, since its contents are a matter of course, we may, nevertheless, be thankful for its word आकृति, and the conclusions it enables us to draw in our present case —Patañjali न वा वक्तव्यम् । किं कारणम् । समानायामाकृतौ भाषितपुंस्कविज्ञानात् । समानायामाकृतौ यद्भाषितपुंस्कम् । आकृत्यन्तरे चैतद्भाषितपुंस्कम् । किं वक्तव्यमेतत् । न हि कथमनुच्यमानं गंस्यते । एतदप्यर्थनिर्देशात्सिद्धम्, and Kaiyyata तत्र पीलुशब्दो वृक्षाकृतौ पुल्लिङ्गः फलाकृतौ नपुंसकलिङ्ग इति पुंवद्भावाप्रसङ्गः ।

183 *Vyakti* is used in the same sense by Kātyāyana in the Vārttika 1 (of the Calc ed) to I 2, 52

184 Compare II 1 57, also v 5 (ed Calc)

185 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 151

blem started and solved by Gautama The very manner in which Patañjali is compelled to answer the question, whether 'the sense of a word' in Pānini "implies species or individuality"—viz, that at one time it imples the former, and at another the latter, shows that philosophical investigations into the 'sense of the word' had not yet troubled Pānini's mind A mere difference of opinion between the grammarian and the Nyāya philosopher would be no proof for the posteriority of the latter, but the absence of the problem itself, in the Sūtras of Pānini, is, I hold, sufficient ground for this inference A problem of this kind could not have been slighted by Pānini if he had been aware of it, it would have entered unconsciously, as it were, into his terminology, and into the mode of delivering his rules There is abundant evidence in Patañjali's Great Commentary, that his training must have been a philosophical one, and it is Kātyāyana's superiority, too, in this respect, which inflicts on Pānini a quantity of Vārttikas finding fault with his empiric and unphilosophical treatment of grammatical facts

After this conclusion, it seems needless to add that the Sūtras ignore the word *vaiśeshika* which, from a grammatical point of view, would have had as much claim to being noticed by Pānini as any word comprised in his rules IV 2, 60 and 63 The formation *vaiśeshika* is taught in the Gana to V 4, 34, but merely in the sense of *viśesha*

There is an important class of ancient works the chronological relation of which to Pānini deserves our peculiar attention here, from the circumstance than their contents are more or less kindred with those of Pānini's work,—I mean the grammatical works known under the name of *Unnādi-Sūtras, Dhātupātha, Prātiśākhyas Phit-Sūtras* and we may add to them the *Nirukta*, the exegetical work of *Yāska* Each of these works, with *perhaps the exception of one, if I am not mistaken, is* unanimously considered by Sanskrit scholars, as prior to the Grammar of Pānini

Before I proceed to examine whether this view can be upheld or not, I will quote Professor Muller's opinion on the age of

the *Unnādi-Sūtras* "We do not know," he says, by whom these Unādi affixes were first collected, nor by whom the Unādi Sūtras, as we now possess them, were first composed, All we can say is, that, as Pānini mentions them, and gives several general rules with regard to them, they must have existed before his time"

On the same subject, Dr Aufrecht, to whom we are indebted for a careful edition of the *Unnādi-Sūtras*, together with a commentary by *Ujjvaladatta*, expresses himself thus [186] —"We have no direct tradition as to the author of the *sūtras* They were composed before the time of *Pānini*, as they are referred to by him in two different passages of his Grammar The fact, however, that both *Yāska* and the author of the above-quoted Kārikā [vix, to III 3, 1] specify *Śākatāyana* as the grammarian who derived all nouns from verbs, speaks in favour of *Nāgoji*s conjecture, that the authorship is to be attriuted to *Sākatāyana* Nor is this supposition entirely unsupported by the evidence of the *sūtras* themselves In one place (II 38) we are told that the people of the north used the world *kārshaka* for 'a husbandman, in another (IV 128), that they employed *kāri* in the meaning of 'an artisan This distinction refers to a period of the language of which no mention is made by any grammarian after *Pānini* In another rule (III 144,) we find the name of *Sākravarmana*, an old grammarian who is only once more quoted namely, in *Pānini*, VI 1, 130 It is of some importance also, that the author of the *sūtras* considers *aśman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidika, whereas they are treated by *Pānini* as words of common occurrence These facts, even when taken collectively, furnish no decisive evidence as to the authorship of the *sūtras*, but they show, at all events, that they were composed a considerable time before *Pānini* '

186 "Ujjvaladatta's Commentary on the Unādi-Sūtras, edited from a Manuscript in the Library of the East India House, by Theodor Aufrecht Bonn 1859 ," Preface p viii —The Unnādi-Sūtras were first published in the Calcutta edition of the Siddhānta kaumudī, afterwards reprinted—without any further consultation of MSS , but with deteriorations, by—*Dr Boehlingk* Compare note 53

I have in the first instance, to demur to the correctness of one of these 'facts,' which, if it were real, would dispense with any further proof of the Unnādi-Sūtras having preceded—not, indeed, Pānini, for such an inference would always remain hazardous — but his grammatical work It is true that grammarian speaks twice of *Unnādis*, but he *never* speaks of Unnādi-*Sūtras*[187] The former term merely implies a list of Unnādi affixes, and may imply, according to analogous expression in Pānini, a list of words formed with these affixes,[188] but it can never imply a work which treats of these affixes and these formations, like the Unnādi-Sūtras which we are speaking of Between a list of Unnādis—affixes or words—and Unnādi-Sūtras, there is all the difference which exists between a lexicographical and a grammatical work All the conclusions, therefore, which are based on the identity of both, vanish at once

With the conjecture of Nāgojibhatta I shall deal hereafter, but when Dr Aufrecht quotes the meaning of *kārshaka* husbandman,' and of *kāri*, 'artisan' as proving his conclusion, I candidly confess that I do not understand how the fact of these words having been used by the people of the north, in the sense given, can have the remotest bearing on the point at issue, even if in the *whole stretch of the voluminous* grammatical titerature subsequent to Pānini, all of which, of course, is covered by his assertion, no grammarian had made mention of the distinction he is adverting to[189] The Unnādi-Sūtras profess to give such information as is not contained in Pānini s work, he himself informs us of this character of the Unnādi list in the two rules alleged It is but natural, therefore, that we should find in these two Unnādi rules, as indeed we find in the Sūtras of Pānini

187 III 3, 1 उणादयो बहुलम्, and III 4, 75 ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादय ।

188 *Vaidyanātha* on the Paribhāshā उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि—उणादय । तदन्तानि तदन्तत्वेनाभिमतानि वा ।

189 And has this question—which portion of the grammatical literature is later than Pānini ?—been so finally that, *at present*, any one is allowed to speak of it as *a matter of course* ?

But even assuming that my inability to understand this premise of Dr Aufrecht only proves my own incapacity, I might go further and ask—What proof does there exist that these two Sūtras, which have nothing characteristic or peculiar in them, were not added to the original Sūtras at a later time, since Dr Aufrecht himself has shown that the genuineness of *sixteen* Sūtras was suspected by Ujjvaladatta himself? And I may add—Are there not, for instance, in a valuable commentary on more than 300 of these Unnādi-Sūtras, composed by *Nrsimha*, who lived *Samvat* 1577, or 1520 after Christ, at least in the MS I have consulted, not only many readings which differ from the text of Ujjvaladatta, as edited by Dr Aufrecht, but three Sūtras the substance of which is now in the Comentary, and three Sūtras which are neither met with in the text of Bhattoji nor in that of Ujjvaladatta? [190] It seems, therefore, that with the actual doubts we must entertain as to the originality of several Unnādi-Sūtras, it is by no means safe to appeal to two or any such Sūtras for chronological evidence,

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190 Between the Sūtras III 60 and 61 we read in the E I H MS 98 of *Nrsimha's Svaramañjarī* (on accentuation)—where these Unnādi-Sūtras occur—a Sūtra which is neither amongst those of Ujjvaladatta, nor in his Commentary, viz धारेर्गिक् च ॥ Comm धारयतीति धरुण । दिवौ धर्मे धरुणे । धरुण एकविंश । मध्योदात्त Between IV 2 and 3, it has a Sutra the contents—but not the wording—of which are embodied in Ujjvaladatta's Sūtra IV 2 कृशे किच्च ॥ Comm कृशरानु प्रत्यय किच्च । कृशतीति कृशानु । सम्राडसि कृशानुश्च Between IV 90 and 91 तमेवुक्च (its substance occurs in the commentary on Sutra IV 90), Comm तमेरूलप्रत्यय । वुगागमो दीर्घश्च । (?) । ताम्यति तेनेति ताम्बूलम्, and शृणातेदुग्वृद्धिश्च (embodied also in the Commentary of Ujjvaladatta) ॥ Comm शृणातेरूलप्रत्यय । दुग्वृद्धिश्च । शृणातीति शार्दूल । गवय शार्दूलाय राश Before V 28 it mentions a Sūtra which is neither amongst those of Ujjvaladatta nor embodied in his Commentary शाखा ॥ Comm शाखेति निपात्यते । शो तनूकरणे । शाखाभ्य स्वाहा etc Before V 52 which precedes V 70, and follows V 69 and the new Sūtra (i e V 69—the new Sūtra—52 70) दिवेर्डिचेद्विनच् ॥ Comm दीव्यतीति द्यौ । दिवौ । दिव, this Sūtra, too is neither amongst the Sūtras nor in the Commentary of Ujjvaladatta

unless they be able to show cause why they should not be ranked amongst the additions of later times.[191]

And again, what possible conclusion as to the chronological relation of the Unnādi-Sūtras to Pānini can be drawn from another quotation made by Dr Aufrecht? *Śakravarmana*, he says, is once quoted by the Unnādi-Sūtras, and *"only once more, namely, in Pānini"* I will make no remark on these latter words That they are quoted by both is undeniable, but since it happens that both Dr Aufrecht and I have quoted Pānini, does it follow that either of us lived a 'considerable time' before the other, or before any other writer who may also have quoted Pānini? When, however, Dr Aufrecht points out that the author of the Unnādi-Sūtras 'considers *aśman* (stone) and *bhuvana* (world) as Vaidika, whereas they are treated by Pānini as words of common occurrence," I, too, lay much stress on the statement contained in this passage of the Unnādi-Sūtras, but by it arrive at the very opposite inference to that which has suggested itself to him For, if Pānini treated these words which occur in the Vedas as words of common life, and, on the other hand, the author of the Sūtras in question had ceased to use them in his conversational speech,

191 Dr Aufrecht himself observes (p ix) with perfect accuracy · "the unādisūtras have not been handed down to us in their original from It was not the intention of the author to give a complete list of all the unādi-words, but merely to collect the most important of them Hence we frequently meet with the sentence बहुलमन्यत्रापि 'in various other words, too,' or अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते 'the same suffixes are found in other words, too'" The former of these expressions, quoted by Dr Aufrecht, occurs, indeed, five times and the latter once, and Patañjali says in his kārikā to III 3, 1, and in his comment on it बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुदृष्टेः ॥ तनुभ्यः प्रकृतिभ्य उणादयो दृश्यन्ते न सर्वाभ्यो दृश्यन्ते ॥ प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ॥ प्रायेण खल्वपि समुच्चिता । न सर्वे समुच्चिता ॥ कार्यसशेषविधेश्च तदुक्तम् ॥ कार्याणि खल्वपि सशेषाणि कृतानि । न सर्वाणि लक्षणेन परिसमाप्तानि Since, then, the Unnādis are admitted, even by Patañjali, to be an incomplete list, and if there is evidence to prove that at recent periods writers permitted themselves to supply the deficiencies, it will be admitted that my hesitation is not a hypercritical one

and records the fact that they belong, not only to literary language, but to that of the very oldest literature,—I do not conclude that such facts "show, at all events, that they (the Unnādi-Sūtras) were composed a considerable time before Pānini," but I conclude that Pānini lived in that Vaidika age when *asman* and *bhuvana* were as well Vaidika as common words, and therefore required no distinctive remark of his, that on the contrary, the author of the *two* Unnādi Sūtras in question belonged to a period when these words had become obsolete in common life,—in short, that Pānini lived a considerable time before this grammarian

An inference, however, of such importance as this could not be considered as resting on sufficiently solid ground if there were no other means of establishing it than two Sūtras of a work avowedly open to interpolations at various periods of Sanskrit literature

In order to support it with stronger arguments, I must raise a previous question, which does not concern the Unnādi-Sūtras alone — the question, *whether or not Pānini was the originator of all the technical terms he employs in his work ?* Since he adverts several times, in his rules, to grammarians who preceded him,[192] it would probably—not necessarily—be possible to answer this question if we possessed the works of these grammarians *Sākatāyana's* grammar seems indeed, to have come down to us, but though, in such a case it would be within my reach, it must still remain at present a sealed book to me, and I must treat it like the works of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and the other predecessors of Pānini who merely survive in name and fame [193]

192 See note 97

193. The knowledge that Sākaṭāyana's Grammar exists, and is preserved amongst the treasures of the Library of the Home Government for India, we owe, like so much of our knowledge of Sanskrit literature to the lamented Professor Wilson, who speaks of it in his *Mackenzie Collection*, vol I p 160 Many years ago I obtained sight of the precious volume, but as it is written on palm leaves in the Hala Kernāta character, and as I could not attempt to make it out without

There are, in my opinion, two Sūtras of Pāṇini which may *serve as a clue through* the intricacies of this problem

In five important rules of his, Pāṇini states that, on principle he will exclude from his Grammar certain subjects, as they do not fall within his scope But since he gives reasons for doing so, he at the same time enables us to infer what he considered his duty, as a grammarian, to teach [194] Amongst these rules, one (1 2, 53) referring to a subject touched on by him in a

a magnifying glass, and then only with much difficulty, I was compelled to abandon my desire of mastering its contents It is to be hoped now that a learned, laborious, and competent Sanskrit scholar will transcribe and publish this awkward MS , and thus relieve Sanskrit studies from a suspense which no one can feel more keenly than I do in writing these lines I must add at the same time, that doubts have been lately expressed to me whether this MS contains really the original work of Śākaṭāyana, or merely a Grammar founded on his

194 These rules are I 2, 53-57 They contain Pāṇini's grammatical creed, and are the key-stone of his work But all that the 'editor' of Pāṇini has to offer with respect to them is the following attempt at an epigram (vol II p 47) " Pāṇini makes an expedition against his predecessors ' And thus, in taking up that which is merely incidental, and, compared with the subject itself, quite irrelevant, he completely leads the reader away from the real importance of these rules The *Kāśikā*, it is true, mentions that Pāṇini differs in the principles he lays down in these rules from previous grammarians, but it is far from making a joke or concentrating the essence of its comment on so futile a point It shows, on the contrary, the full bearing of these rules, and, I believe, it would have done still better had it embodied in its gloss the remarks of Patañjali on some of these Sūtras At all events, the commentary of the Kāśikā on them was deemed important enough even by Dr Boehtlingk to be quoted by him on this occasion in its full extent, though his reason for doing so is merely to show the "expedition of Pāṇini against his predecessors ' "*The whole,*" (viz , this expedition) he writes in introducing the Kāśikā, "*becomes sufficiently clear through an excellent commentary, I mean the Kāśikā vritti, which will make any other remark super-*

previous Sūtra, says "Such matter will not be taught *by me*, for it falls under the category of conventional terms, which are settled (and therefore do not require any rule of mine, *literally* for it has the authority of a *sanjñā* or conventional term)" To these words *Patañjali* appends the following gloss "When Pāṇini speaks of conventional terms which he will not teach, because they are settled, does he mean, by this expression such technical terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, and the like? No, for

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fluous" As the quotation he then gives from the Kāśikā is the *only one, of any extent, in his whole second volume*, and as he assumes all the appearance of treating it with that minute and critical and conscientious circumstantiality which even in an incidental quotation must be extremely welcome,—I mean by giving the various readings of his MSS ("*A*"=MS 829, "*B*"=MS 2440 of the East India House—*wrongly described by him at* p liv), by recording the omissions in either of them, even so far as the omission of a "च" is concerned,—in short, as he gives us in his lengthened and highly valuable extract from the Kāśikā a specimen of his *editorial character*, I considered it my duty to make a comparison of his edition of portion of the Kāśikā with the two MSS named and used by him For though I was perfectly well acquainted with his so-called Commentary on Pāṇini, and though it has been my thorough conviction for very many years that his curtailed reprint of the Calcutta edition—I will not qualify it now otherwise—by suppressing important texts and by propagating errors which, even in a reprint, are not excusable, has been more an impediment to a *conscientious* study of Sanskrit grammar, and of Pāṇini in particular, than his very imperfect commentatorial remarks may have done service to beginners,—though my opinion of the literary activity of Dr Boehtlingk was the result of a careful study of his works, and was by no means founded on occasional errors of his, or formed in disregard of all the difficulties he had to contend with,—in short, though not all the imperfections of his writings—*if they amounted only to such*—would ever have induced me to stint the share of indulgence which I hold ought to be always and largely awarded to *laborious* and *honest* work, whatever be its failings, I have considered it my duty to make this comparison since, within the chain of the peculiar circumstances which weigh on his edition of

sanjñā is here the same as *sanjñāna*, 'understanding' (*i e a name which has a real meaning*, that may be traced etymologically)' And *Kaiyyata* enlarges upon these words in the following strain " The question of Patañjali is suggested by the rule of analogy His answer is in the negative, because context itself has a greater weight than (mere) analogy Now, though such terms as *ti*, *ghu*, *bha* and the like, are settled terms, this circumstance

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Pānini and on some of his other *editions*, too, the point I wanted to ascertain, once more, did not so much concern a question of scholarship as one of scientific reliability The result of my comparison was this Dr Boehtlingk records at his quotation from the Kāsikā to I 2, 53, the various readings of MS *A* निर्दिश्यत (for *B* प्रति निर्दिश्यते), कस्मात (for *B* कुत) वरणावर (for *B* वरणा), लिङ्गवचन (for *B* लिङ्गवचनञ्च), and यथा च (for *B* यथा), but he does not say that *A* reads the last words आपो दारा गृहा सिता (*sic*) वर्षा इति —At I 2 54 he mentions that MS *A* has omitted the word शब्द, but he does not state that *A* reads व्यक्त instead of *B's* reading वक्तव्य, nor that *B* has a marginal note on the word अप्रख्यानात् which runs thus योगजनपदादे क्षत्रियादिभि सम्बन्ध । तस्याप्रख्यानादनुपलब्धेरित्यर्थं And he edits on his own authority—without any remark whatever—वृक्षयोग नगर—*which is perfectly meaningless*—while both MSS read वृक्षयोगान्नगरे —At I 2, 55, he mentions that *A* has omitted यदि and तस्य, moreover that *B* reads क्षत्रियसम्बन्ध जनपद पञ्चालशब्द । ततो॰, but he does not say that *A* omits also योगाभावे before तस्य, and adds तत्र before the last words प्रवृत्त इति And what is much worse, he not only edits तत्रावश्यमभ्युपगन्तव्यम्, while both MSS read तत्रावश्यमेवाभ्युपगन्तव्यम्, but न्याय निमित्तक—*which is simple nonsense*—while both MSS have the intelligible reading न्याय योगनिमित्तक —At I 2, 56, he observes that इति is omitted in *B* and तत् in *A*- but he does not mention that instead of *B's* ॰प्रमाणत्वात । अन्य, etc, *A* reads ॰प्रमाणत्वादित्यन्य, etc, nor does he mention that *B* reads चार्थसिद्धस्तत्र किं यत्नेन while *A* reads अर्थ सिद्ध किं तत्र यत्नन, but, again, he edits, without any remark whatever, अर्थान्यप्रमाणत्वात्, which is *ungrammatical*, in spite of the concurrent and correct reading of both MSS अवश्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात् (or *A* ॰त्वादिति, see before) —His remarks at I 2, 57, are that *A* omits अशिष्य—भवत, and that *B* reads हि (for *A* च), परिभाषन्त (for *A* परिभाषन्ते), and मत्वर्थे (for *A* अन्यपदार्थो) Yet he does not record the various inaccuracies of *A*, which are essen-

would not have been a sufficient reason in an *etymological* work (like that of Pānini) for leaving them untaught, for they have no etymology' 'Understanding,' (as Patañjali paraphrases *sanjñā*) means mentally entering into, understanding the component parts of a word, [or it means the words which admit of this mental process]'[195]

From this rule of Pānini and the commentaries alleged we learn therefore —

1 That his Grammar does not treat of those *sanjñās* or conventional names which are known and settled otherwise

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tial for those not acquainted with this MS, in order that they may form an opinion on it and on its relation to the readings of *B* Thus he omits stating that *A* reads the commencing words अशिष्यमिति वर्तते, that it omits इद श कर्तव्य, and reads पुनराहुरह उभ° for *B's* more correct reading पुनराहु । अहकम° But Dr Boehtlink likewise does not mention that *B* has a marginal note to the word व्याख्यात, viz, व्यख्यो (*sic*) यम, that *A* reads चाशिष्ये ते for *B's* चाशिष्ये (in the commencement), that *B* adds तु after अपरे (last line of his page 48), that *A* reads नथा चोपमजन° for *B* तथोपसर्जन° (first line of his page 49), and नैव व्युत्पाद्य ते for *B* न चेत्र व्युत्पाद्य ते And to crown the edition of this portion of the excellent commentary, I mean the *Kāsikāvritti*, which will make all further explanation superfluous," Dr Boehtlingk prints without a single remark (p 49, line 4), तथोपसर्जन मप्रधानमिनि गम्यते, when *A* has the following passage तथोपसर्जन वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा । उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिति गम्ये (*sic*), whereas *B* gives the complete sentence in this way तथोपमर्जनम् । प्रस्तावादर्थवौचित्यादेशकालविभागत । शब्दार्थां प्रतीयन्ते न शब्दादेव केवलात् । वयमत्र गृहे ग्रामे वा उपसर्जनमप्रधानमिनि गम्यते —And such is his edition of even an easy text of a commentary to *only five* Sūtras of Pānini,—of a commentary, too so pompously announced by himself, and laid before the public with so much appearance of care and conscientiousness !

195 Pānini, I 2 53 तदशिष्य सज्ञाप्रमाणत्वात् —Patañjali कि या एता कृत्रिमाटिघुभादिसज्ञा तत्प्रामाण्यादशिष्यम् । ने याह । सज्ञान सज्ञा —Kaiyyata कि या एता इति । प्रत्यासत्त्न्यायाश्रयेण पश्न । नेत्याहेति । प्रत्यासत्त सामर्थ्यं बलवत् । न हि घिभादिसज्ञाना प्रमाणत्व शुक्लवद्गावद्याद्यस्याशिष्यत्व हेतुरुपपद्यते । सम्बन्धाभावात् । सज्ञानमिति । अवगम सम्प्रत्यय इत्यर्थ ।

2 That this term *sanjñā* must be understood in our rule to concern only such conventional names as have an etymology

3 That it applies also to grammatical terms which admit of an etymology, but not to those which are merely grammatical symbols

4 That such terms as *ti*, *ghu* and *bha*, *were known and settled before Pāṇini's Grammar*, but that, nevertheless, they are defined by Pāṇini because they are not etymological terms

Having thus obtained, through the comment of Patañjali on the Sūtra in question, a means by which to judge of the originality of Pāṇini's terms, we must feel induced to test its accuracy before we base our inferences on it, and the opportunity of doing so is afforded not merely by the technical symbols which Patañjali himself names,—we easily ascertain that Pāṇini has given a definition of them,—but also by another of these important five Sūtras This Sūtra (I 2, 56) says "Nor shall I teach the purport of the principal part of a compound (*pradhāna*), or that of an affix (*pratyaya*), because they, too, have been settled by others (*i e* people know already from other authorities, that in a compound the sense of the word gravitates towards its principal part, and in derivative towards the affix)"[196]

Thus we learn here from Pāṇini himself that the term *pratyaya* (affix) was employed before he wrote his work, and if Patañjali's interpretation be correct, Pāṇini, who also makes use of this term, must have left it undefined, since it has an etymology and was "settled" in his time And such, indeed, is the case Pāṇini uses the word *pratyaya* many times (*e g* I 1, 61 62 69, 2, 41 45, 3, 63 etc), he heads with it a whole chapter *which extends over three books of his work, yet he* gives no definition whatever of its sense Finding, then, that Patañjali's comment is confirmed by Pāṇini's own words, we may proceed, and we then obtain the result that the Sūtras employ but do not explain such terms, for instance, as *prathamā* (nominative), *dvitīyā* (accusative), *tṛtīyā* (instru-

196 Pāṇini, I 2, 56 , प्रधानप्रत्ययार्थवचनमर्थस्यान्यप्रमाणत्वात There is no Bhāshya on this rule

mental), *chaturthī* (dative), *pañchamī* (ablative), *shashthī* (genitive) and *saptamī* (locative) And the commentators apprise us that these words were technical names used by the eastern grammarians, which are referred to by Pānini in some of his rules [197] We likewise meet in his work with such terms as *samāsa* (compound II 1, 3), *tatpurusha* (II 1, 22), *avyayībhāva* (II I, 5), *bahuvrīhi* (II 2, 23), *krt* (III 1, 93), *taddhita* (IV 1, 76), etc etc he enumerates all the special compounds or affixes which fall under these heads, but does not give any definition whatever of the meaning of these names Again, the commentaries, in adverting to them, tell us that the terms expressing compounds, for instance, belong to "older grammarians"

When, on the other hand, we see that he *does give a* definition of *karmadhāraya* (I 2, 42) or of *samyoga* (I 1, 7), or of *anunāsika* (I 1, 8) terms which are conventional and admit of an etymological analysis, we are at once compelled to infer that he was the first who employed these technical names *in the sense stated by him* And this conclusion would apply with equal force to all other terms of a similar kind which do not merely head an enumeration of rules but are clearly defined by him, *e g* to *savarna* (I 1, 9), *pragrhya* (I 1, 11), *lopa* (I 1, 60), *hrasva dirgha pluta* (I 2, 27), *udātta* (I 2, 29), *anudātta* (I 2, 30), *svarita* (I 2, 31), *aprkta* (I 2, 41), etc etc Nor do I believe that this conclusion becomes invalidated in those instances in which Pānini gives a definition, while yet there may be a strong presumption that the term defined was already used in his time, for it seems to me that, in such a case, his definition either imparted an additional sense to the current term, and, in reality thus created a new term of his own, or had a special bearing on the technical structure of his own work When, for instance, he defines the term *dvandva*, [198] though there is a *probability*

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197 II 3, 46 2 3 13 30 7 etc

198 II 2, 29 चार्थे द्वन्द्व ।

that this term was used by previous grammarians,[199] his definition may have corrected the current notion on the subject implied by it, as I infer from the lengthened discussion of Patañjali Or, when he uses the term *upasarjana* in one of those five rules already mentioned thus allowing us to conclude that it was a current term in his time,[200] and still appears to define it in two other rules,[201] his definition is in reality no definition at all, it merely instructs the pupil how he may recognise an *upasarjana* rule in his work[202]

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199 Kāśikā (MS 829, E I H) on I 2, 57 तथा च पूर्वाचार्यै परिभाष्यन्ते। अन्यपदार्थो बहुव्रीहि । पूर्वपदार्थप्रधानोऽव्ययीभाव । उत्तरपदार्थप्रधानस्तत्पुरुष । उभयपदार्थप्रधानो द्वन्द्व इत्येवमादि । MS 2440, E I H, reads अन्यार्थे instead of अन्यपदार्थो, but both readings are objectionable as we may infer from the Mahābhāshya on II 1, 20 इह कश्चित्समास पूर्वपदार्थप्रधान । कश्चिदुत्तरपदार्थप्रधान । कश्चिदन्यपदार्थप्रधान । कश्चिदुभयपदार्थप्रधान etc, and these identical words reoccur in the Mahābhāshya to II 1, 49 Neither of the terms *bahuvrīhi*, *avyayībhāva*, or *tatpurusha* is explained by Pānini — *Compare also note 44, and my Dictionary, s v* अन्यपदार्थप्रधान ।

200 I 2, 57 कालोपसर्जने च तुल्यम् ।

201 I 2, 43 प्रथमानिर्दिष्टं समास उपसर्जनम् — I 2, 44 एकविभक्ति चापूर्वनिपाते ।

202 In the foregoing remarks I have drawn a distinct line between the *definition* which Pānini gives of a term, — as when he says "*abhyasta* are the two syllables constituting a reduplicated base" (VI 1, 5), or "*prātipadika* is that which has a sense but is neither a verbal root nor an affix" (I 2, 45), and the *enumeration* he makes (I 3 1), or "*pratyaya* (affix) is that which is treated from the beginning of the third book up to the end of the fifth" (III 1, 1) For I hold that Pānini could not, at one time, feel the necessity of defining the linguistic properties of a grammatical category and at another leave unexplained the notion, for instance, of a verbal root, an affix, a particle and so on, while using these terms extensively unless these notions were sufficiently clear at the time he wrote, and his grammatical purposes were attained by stating what application he gave to these terms in his work An evidence of the plausibility of this view is afforded *e g* by the terms *ātmanepada* and *parasmaipada* In rules VI 3, 7 and 8, Pānini mentions that these terms are used by "grammarians" which expression can

To extend this inference to purely grammatical symbols like those mentioned by Patañjali, e g, *gha*, *shash*, *luk*, *slu*, *lup* etc etc, would be wrong, after the remark of this grammarian, for, as we learn from him, that they are not *sanjñās*, in the sense in which Pānini uses this word in his rule I 2, 53, we cannot decide to what extent he may have invented these names, or whether he even invented any of them, since Patañjali distinctly tells us, as we have seen, that *ti*, *ghu*, *bha*, were terms already know to Pānini.

If, then we apply the test we have obtained to the Unnādi-Sūtras, we shall have, in the first place, to observe that the technical, and, the same time, significant names which would fall under the category of Pānini's rule (I 2, 53), and which are not only used in, but are indispensable to, the mechanism of these Sūtras are the following *abhyāsa*, *avyaya* *udātta*, *upadhā*, *upasarga* *dirgha* *dhātu*, *pada*, *vrddhi* *lopa* *samprasārana*, *hrasva*[203] Amongst these, Pānini gives no definition whatever of *dhātu*, for his explanation is merely an enumeration (I 3, 1), and the same remark applies to *upasarga* (I 4, 59), and perhaps to *vrddhi* (I 1, 1) and *avyaya* (I 1, 37, 38, etc) It is probable, therefore, that Pānini did not invent these terms, but referred to them as of current use On the other hand, he distinctly defines *hrasva*, *dirgha*, *udātta*, *upadhā* *lopa*, *samprasārana*, and *abhyāsa*[204] The term *pada* is also defined by him, but it seems that he merely extended current application for his own purposes, since the commentaries tell us that "the former grammarians" gave a definition of the terms for compounds, and this definition contains the

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only mean that they were in use before he wrote, and in rules I 4, 99 and 100 he enumerates the conjugation endings *comprised* under these denominations, *but gives no definition* of the terms themselves

203 *E g* I 12 15 27 32 48 —II 16 59 65 —III 114 —IV 65 146 144 —V 19 etc

204 I 2 27 ऊकालोऽज्झ्रस्वदीर्घप्लुत —I 2, 29 उच्चैरुदात्त —I 1, 65 अलोऽन्त्यात्पूर्व उपधा —I 1, 60 अदर्शनं लोप —I 1, 45 इग्यण सम्प्रसारणम् —VI 1, 4 पूर्वोऽभ्यास (comp also note 44)

word *pada* That the Unnādi-Sūtras contain no definition of any technical word requires no confirmation from me

Now, had Pāṇini not written the five Sūtras (I 2, 53–57) in which he explains the method of his Grammar, or had he explained all the technical terms used by him, the absence of a definition of such terms in the Unnādi-Sūtras would not justify us in arriving at any conclusion as regards the mutual relation of the two works But since we know that Pāṇini does not define all his terms, and, on the other hand, that a treatise like the Unnādi Sūtras uses those terms which are defined by him, *and exactly in the same sense in which they occur in his work*, the only possible conclusion is that this treatise was written later than the Grammar of Pāṇini And this also must have been the opinion of *Ujjvaladatta* and *Bhattojidikshita*, for both grammarians, in their comment on an Unnādi-Sūtra, which is an original one, if any be, since it treats of a whole category of Unnādi words, state in the plainest possible language that *this Sūtra is given as one exception to a rule of Pāṇini* [205] Nay, we owe to Dr Aufrecht himself a very interesting passage from *Vimala*'s *Rūpamālā*, which distinctly ascribes the authorship of these Unnādi Sūtras to *Vararuchi* But as Vararuchi is a name of Kātyāyana also,[206] this work seems to intimate that Kātyāyana completed the Grammar of Pāṇini, not only in his Vārttikas, but in the important work which concerns us here [207]

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205 Unnādi-Sūtra, IV 226 गतिकारकयो पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वन् — Ujjvaladatta गतिकारकोपपदात्कृत (Pāṇini, VI 2, 139) इत्युत्तरपद प्रकृतिस्वरत्वे सति शेषस्यानुदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते वचनमिदमारभ्यते — Bhaṭṭojidikshita (Siddh -k p 204 *b*, 1 6) गतिकारकोपपदात्कृदित्युत्तरपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वे सति शेषस्यानुदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते तदपवादार्थमिदम् ।

206 See also Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 240

207 I subjoin a literal copy of this extract from the edition of Dr Aufrecht, p ix "उणादयो बहुलम् । संज्ञाविषये स्यु । ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादय । सम्प्रदानापादानाभ्यामन्यस्मिन्नेवार्थे स्यु । लक्ष्मानुसरणोन्नेय। (MS लक्ष्मानुसारेणोन्नेया) अनुबन्धा उणादिषु । बहुलोक्त्या प्रसाध्यानि तेषु कार्याण्तराणि च । उणादिस्फुटीकरणाय वररुचिना पृथगेव सूत्राणि प्रणीतानि । तद्यथा । कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशूभ्य उण् ॥"

Although it follows from all these premises that the *treatise* on the Unnādi-words, the existing collection of Unnādi-Sūtras, is later than the Grammar of Pānini, there still remains the question What relation exists between the latter work and a *list* of Unnādi-affixes or words which Pānini twice quotes in his rules ?

Yāska relates, in an interesting discussion on the derivation of nouns, that there were in India two classes of scholars, the one comprising the *Nairuktas* or etymologists (his commentator *Durga* adds except *Gārgya*), and the grammarian *Śākatāyana* , the other consisting of some of the *Vaiyākaranas* or grammarians, and the etymologist *Gārgya* The former maintained that all nouns are derived from "verbal roots," the latter that only those nouns are so derived in which accent and formation are regular, and the sense of which can be traced to the verbal root, which is held to be their origin They denied, as Yāska tells us, the possibility of assigning an origin to such words as *go*, "cow", *asva* "horse," *purusha* "man "[208] Now, it is this latter description of words which

He adds to this quotation the following curt rebuke " This assertion which makes Vararuci older than *Pānini*, has no claim to probability ' But I must ask—Is there one single word in this passage which justifies, in the slightest degree, the stricture passed by Dr Aufrecht on Vimala ? The latter says " To illustrate (or to make clear) the Unnādi affixes *Vararuchi* composed the (Unnādi) Sūtras as a separate work He draws a distinction therefore as I have already done, between the Unnādi list and the Sūtras on them, but where does he say that Vararuchi is older than Pānini ? Dr Aufrecht evidently mistook his own conclusions, quoted above, which precede this passage from *Vimala's* *Rūpamālā*, for the opinion of the latter work Having first established his conclusions in the manner we have seen, he seems never to have doubted that any writer can differ from his view Therefore when meeting with Vimala, who reports that Vararuchi is the author of the Unnādi Sūtras, he upbraids this poor grammarian with having made Vararuchi older than Pānini

208 See Roth's Nirukta, I 12, Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 164, and Aufrecht s Unnādi-Sūtras, p vi vii Yāska according to

is the subject of the Unnādi list they are the Unnādi words We must ask, therefore, did Pānini belong, as regards his linguistic notions, to the *Nairuktas* or to the "some of the *Vaiyākaranas* ?"

Since the former designation is chiefly applied to the exegetes of the Vaidika texts, and the latter is emphatically used by the grammarians, it seems probable that Pānini, in this question of the derivability of Unnādi words, would stand on the side of these Vaiyākaranas And this unquestionably is the opinion of Patañjali, as may be judged from the following facts —In the rules VII 1, 2, Pānini teaches, amongst other things, that when an affix contain the letters *dh,* or *kh,* or *chh,* these letters are merely grammatical symbols, the real values of which are severally *ey, in, iy* To this rule *Kātyāyana* appends the remark that the Unnādi affixes *form an exception,* when Patañjali explains this view of the author of the Vārttikas by the instances *sankha, śandha*, for though these words are formed with the affixes *kha* and *dha,* the letters *dh* and *kh* in their affixes, are real, not symbolical "And," continues Kātyāyana, in two subsequent Vārttikas, "though Pānini speaks himself, in Sūtra III 1, 29, of an affix *iyang* (not *chhang,* as might be expected according to rule VII 1, 2), this does not invalidate my exception, for the latter is based on the circumstance that Pānini treats in his rule VII 1, 2, not of verbal but of nominal bases" "True," rejoins Patañjali, " but Kātyāyana might have spared this discussion, for *'nominal*

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the present edition, adds to the three instances given the word हस्तिन् also He can scarcely have meant the word 'elephant, which is not a *krt,* but a regular *taddhita derivative of hasta* nor does this word occur in the Unnādi Sūtras It seems therefore probable that he said, or at least meant, the real Unnādi word *hasta,* "hand But as *Durga,* too, at all events in the MS at my command, writes हस्तादि I do not venture upon more than a conjecture that the latter words are to be corrected in the text of the Nirukta - हस्त इति ।

bases formed with Unnādi affixes are bases which have no grammatical origin [209]

In rule, VII 3, 50, Pānini teaches that the letter *th* in the affix *tha* has the value of *ik* that *tha*, therefore, means in reality *ika*,[210] in rule VII 4, 13, that a long vowel *ā, ī, ū*, becomes short before the affix *ka*, [211] in VIII 2, 78, that the short vowels *i* and *u* become long before a radical consonant *r* and *v* if these consonants are followed by another consonant,[212] in VIII 3, 59, that the *s* of an affix is changed under certain

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209 VII 1 2 आयनेयीनीयियः फढखछघां प्रत्ययादीनाम् —A Vārttika तत्रोणादिप्रतिषेध —Patañjali तत्रोणादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य शङ्ख शण्ढ (comp Un S I 101 104) —Vārttika धातोर्वैतद्वचनात् —Patañjali अथवा यदयमृतेरीयङ् इति (III 1 29) धातोरीयङ् शास्ति etc —Vārttika प्राति पदिकविज्ञानाच्च पाणिने सिद्धम् —Patañjali प्रातिपदिकविज्ञानाच्च भगवत पाणि नेराचार्यस्य सिद्धम्। उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि।

210 VII 3 50 ठस्येक —A Vārttika सङ्घातग्रहण चेदुणादिप्रातिपदि कानां प्रतिषेध —Patañjali उणादीनां तावत्। कण्ठ षण्ठ शण्ठ (comp Un S I 105, IV 104) etc —Vārttika तस्मादिशिष्टग्रहणम् —Patañjali (after a lengthened discussion asks and answers) एवमप्युणादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य। न वक्तव्य। उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि। एवमपि कर्मठ इत्यत्र प्राप्नोति (comp V 2, 35, where the affix is not a *krt*, but a *taddhita*)

211 VII 4, 13 केऽण —Vārttika केऽणो ह्रस्वत्वे तद्धितग्रहण कृन्नि वृत्त्यर्थम्।—Patañjali केऽणो ह्रस्वत्वे तद्धितग्रहण कर्तव्यम्। किं प्रयोजनम्। कृन्निवृत्त्यर्थम्। कृति मा भूत्। राका धाका (MS धाका) इति (*Cf* Un S III 40)। तर्हि वक्तव्यम्। न वक्तव्यम्। उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि etc

212 VIII 2 78 उपधायां च —A Vārttika उपधादीर्घत्वेऽभ्यासजिन्निचतुर्णां प्रतिषेध —Patañjali उपधादीर्घत्वेऽभ्यासजिन्निचतुर्णां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य। रियतु। रियु। सविव्यतु। सिविव्यु॥ अभ्यास॥ जिन्नि (MS अभ्यासजिन्नि)॥ चतुर्यिता। चतुर्यितुन् —Vārttika उणादीनां प्रतिषेधश्च —Patañjali उणादीनाञ्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य। किर्यां। गिर्योरिति but after some discussion he concludes जिन्निप्रतिषेधश्च न वक्तव्य (MS वक्तव्य)। उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि (*Cf* Un S V 49), and again न सुपो विभक्तिविपरिणामात्। गीर्भ्यां गार्भारित्यदोष। उणादिप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य इति। परिहृतमनेनत्। उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानीति (*Cf* Un S IV 142)

conditions to *sh* [213] To all these rules Kātyāyana takes exception by excluding from them the *Unnādi words* Thus *kantha, pantha, santha*, are formed with the affix *tha* which does not mean *ika, rūkā* and *dhūkā* retain their long *ā* before the affix *ka* from *jr* is derived *jivr*, not *jivr*, *kiri* and *giri* form their dual *kiryos* and *giryos*, not *kiryos* and *giryos*, and in the words *krsara, dhūsara*, the *s* has not become *sha*, while, on the other hand, this change has taken place in *varsha* and *tarsha*,[214] though the

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213 VIII 3, 59 आदेशप्रत्यययो —Vārttika आदेशप्रत्यययो षत्वे सरक प्रतिषेध —Patañjali आदेशप्रत्यययो षत्वे सरक प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्य । कृसर । धूसर । अत्यल्पमिदमुच्यते सरक इति —Vārttika सरगादीनामिति वक्तव्यम् —Patañjali इहापि यथा स्यात् । वर्षम् । तर्षमिति । तर्हि वक्तव्यम् । न वक्तव्यम् । उण्णादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि etc (*cf* Un S III 73 62)

214 In the E I H MS of the Mahābhāshya and in the Calcutta edition of Pānini the instances to VIII 3, 59, v 2, are वर्सं and तर्सं (instead of वर्ष and तर्ष), but it is evident that this reading is erroneous, for, in his first Vārttika, Kātyāyana intends to show that Pānini's rule is too wide, and, in the second, that it is too narrow, if applied to certain Unnādi words Compare also the Commentary on the Unnādi-Sūtra III 62 —It is needless to observe once more that in this, as in *all similar instances*, the reprint of Dr Boehtlingk has simply continued the mistake of the Pandits, though it always assumes the air of having taken its information from the MSS Thus, in this very Vārttika, the Calcutta edition has a misprint सरकप्रतिषेध, and Dr Boehtlingk writes—not "the Calcutta edition," but—"*Ein vārttika* ' सरकप्रतिषेध (*sic*)," as if this reading were an original one But the E I H MS of the Mahābhāshya reads quite correctly "सरक प्रतिषेध", and Kaiyyata has even a special remark to the effect, that though the Unnādi-Sūtra III 73 (comp also 70) teaches the affix सरन्, the Vārttika and Bhāshya write सरच् (of which सरक is the genitive), because this affix is कित् viz अञ्जे सरन्नित्यत सरन्प्रत्यय (MS °यो) कृधूमदिभ्य किदित्यत्रानुवर्तते (Un. S III 73) । कित्त्वातिदशार्थ कित्त्वार्थंलाभाद्भाष्यवार्तिकयो सरचपठित । In all these instances, and others too (*e g* to VII 2, 8, v 1 of the Calc ed) E I H MS of the Mahābhāshya, and the Calcutta edition—as often as it gives this passage—write उण्णादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि (the MS of the Mahābhāshya without the ऽ, the correctness of the

conditions named by Pānini in rule VIII 3, 59 would not justify it here But Patañjali, who supplies us with all these instances, in order to establish, first, the sense of the Vārttikas, always rejects the criticism of Kātyāyana, and defends Pānini with the same argument which he used before, viz, in saying that *nominal bases formed with Unnādi affixes are bases which have no grammatical origin'* and therefore do not concern an etymological work like that of Pānini

But if Kātyāyana were really wrong in his censure of Pānini, can the argument used by Patañjali in defence of Pānini be right? Let us imagine that there existed amongst us two sets of grammarians, the one contending that the words *red bed*, *shed*, are derived from radicals *re be she*, with an affix *d* and another refuting these etymologists, and asserting that their derivation is absurd, that *red bed*, *shed* are "bases without a grammatical origin" Is it probable, on the same supposition, that a member of the last-named category, in writing a grammar and in dealing with these words, would ascribe to them an affix *d*? Yet, if Patañjali were right, Pānini would belong to this latter category, and he would have committed such an incongruity He has not only spoken of an Unnādi affix *u* but he calls it by its technical name *un*, which means that he bore in mind a distinct form of a radical, the vowel of which would become subject to the *Vrddhi*

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reading given, however, does not only result from the commentaries, but from the Paribhāshā works, MS 778 of the Paribhāshendusekhara *e g* writes उण्णादयो अव्यु°), when the first word, though literally meaning "the affixes *un*, etc has the sense, 'the words formed with the affixes *un*, etc" (comp I 1 72), in conformity with the use which Pānini makes of the words कृत् and तद्धित (in the *masculine* gender, *e g* I 1 38, 2, 46 VI 2, 155 Compare also *Vaidyanātha's* explanation, in note 188 The reading 'उण्णादीन्यव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि,' which is given by Dr Aufrecht p vi, I have *never* met with, though I have frequently met with the phrase quoted above, not only in the grammatical commentaries, but in all the Paribhāshā-works, which give it as a Paribhāshā I, therefore, very much doubt its correctness, *even if it should really be found in any MS*

increase if it is joined to this affix *u*. The Unnādi words must, consequently, have been to Pānini words in which he perceived a real affix and a real radical,— words, in short, with a distinct etymology There is other evidence to the same effect besides the two rules of his which contain the word *unādi* In rule VII 2, 9, he mentions the affixes *ti, tu, tra, ta, tha, si, su, sara, ka, sa*, all these are Unnādi affixes, and consequently represent to him as many radicals as are capable of being combined with them for the formation of nominal bases [215] That there is a flaw in the defence of Patañjali, must have been already perceived by *Kaiyyata*, for this commentator tries to reconcile the fact I have pointed out with the assertion of Patañjali I will quote his words, but merely to show that it was a desperate case to save Pānini from the Nairukta school, and to give him the stamp of a pure-bred Vaiyākarana On the Patañjali's commenting on the Vārttika to VIII 3, 59, and repeating the remark already mentioned, *Kaiyyata* says "Though the Unnādi words have been derived for the *enlightenment of the ignorant*, their formation is not subject to the same grammatical influence as it would be if they had an origin," and, after having endeavoured to prove the correctness of this view through rule VIII 3, 46, he winds up with the following words "Therefore in the Unnādi formations, *krsara* etc, *sara* etc do not fall under the technical category of affixes, so that the rule which concerns the change of an affixal *s* to *sh*, would have to be applied in their case." [216]

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215 VII. 2, 9 तितुत्रतथसिसुसरकसेषु च ।

216. Patañjali to VIII 3, 59 (comp note 213) उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि —Kaiyyata : उणादय इति । अबुधबोधनाय व्युत्पाद्यमाना अप्युणादयो व्युत्पत्तिनिमित्तं कार्यं न लभन्ते । अत एव कृसरमित्यत्र (VIII 3, 46) पृथक्कमग्रहणात् । न वा पदादिति षत्वं व्युत्पत्तिहेतुकमुणादीनामवश्याभ्युपेयम् । सर्पिषा वृक्ष इत्यादिसिद्ध्यर्थमित्यर्थः । एव नहीति कृसरादिषु षत्वे कर्तव्ये प्रत्ययसंज्ञा न भवति —I here subjoin the interesting comment of *Śivadeva*, in his *Paribhāshāvritti* (MS E I H 593), on this Paribhāshā, as it is appealed to by other authors of Paribhāshā-works उणादयोऽव्युत्पन्नानि प्रातिपदिकानि ॥ अथ चार्थोऽयं सूत्रप्रणयनादस्मात्साद्ध । अन्यथा सर्वेषामुणादीनां धातुजत्वे कृदन्तत्वात्प्रातिपदिकसंज्ञासिद्धौ नत्र कुर्यात् । अन्ये त्वत्र कृसमीत्यत्र (VIII 3, 46) कमिग्रहणं कृत्वा कमग्रहणादेता

That Kātyāyana, when he found fault with Pānini, must have taken my view, is obvious He must have looked upon Pānini as judging of the Unnādi words in the same way as Śakatāyana did otherwise his *'pratishedhas'* *exceptions*, or even his *additions* to the rules in question, would have been as irrelevant as if he had increased them with matter taken from medicine or astronomy

The conclusion, however, at which I have thus been compelled to arrive, *viz*, that Pānini shared in the linguistic principles of Śākatāyana, is of importance, if we now consider the relation in which he is likely to have stood to the original Unnādi list and to the criticisms of Kātyāyana

Nāgojibhatta who wrote notes on Kaiyyata's gloss on Patañjali, conjectures from the Kārikā to III 3, 1, that the Unnādi *Sūtras* were the work of Śākatāyana [217] His conjecture rests on the statement of Yāska, alluded to by Patañjali, that this grammarian contended for the possibility of deriving all nominal bases from verbal roots Now, I have shown before, that the opinion of Nāgojibhatta cannot be adopted so far as the *Sūtras* are concerned for they were written *after* Pānini's work, and Śākatāyana wrote before Pānini [218] It may, at first sight, however, appear to be consistent with fact, if only the Unnādi *list* were meant, for Śākatāyana's views such as would admit of nominal derivation by means of Unnādi affixes Yet, since Nāgoji's conjecture is purely personal, and is not supported by any evidence, I may be allowed, after the explanation I have given, to assume that the Unnādi list is of

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माहुः । तेन कॄगॄशॄदृभिदिभ्यश्च (*sic* comp Un S IV 142) इ किदिनाकारप्रत्ययान्तयोः किरिगिरिशब्दयोरामि यण्णादेशे कृते धातुत्वाभावाद्दलि चेति (VIII 2, 77) दीर्घश्च न भवति । किर्योः । गिर्योरिति । एतच्च न सम्यक् । अच परस्मिन्निति (I 1, 57) स्थानिवद्भावाद्दीर्घाप्रसङ्गात् । न चास्ति दीर्घविधिं प्रति न स्थानिवदिति । स्वरदीर्घयलोपेषु लोपाजादेश एव न स्थानिवदिति वचनात् (comp I 1, 58)। यथा प्रतिदीव्नेति । एवं तर्हि जीर्यतेर्गीतोजीर्यते क्विन् रश्च व इति (Un S V 49) क्विन्प्रत्यय इत्वे रपरत्वे च रेफस्य वकारे कृते जिव्रिरिति धातुत्वाभावाद्दीर्घो न भवतीति ।

217 See also Dr Aufrecht's Preface to the Un S p vii, where the Commentary of Nāgojibhatta is quoted and translated by him

218 See note 97

Pāninī's authorship Indeed, how could Kātyāyana take *exception* to the *technical* application or to the *working of a rule of Pāninī's* and supply this defect by pointing to the Unnādi list, unless he looked upon Pānini as being the author of both? Had he thought that the Unnādi list was written by Śākatāyana, he would have laid himself open to serious reflections, in censuring the *anubandhas* of Pānini for not fitting the system of Śākatāyana We might make an assumption, it is true, by which we could reconcile Śākatāyana's authorship of the Unnādi list with Kātyāyana's strictures on Pānini, — the assumption that Pānini's work represented, as it were, besides its own property, that of Śākatāyana's too, — that both grammarians owned one set of technical signs, and that perfect unanimity reigned between their works The *Ganaratna mahodadhi* of *Vardhamāna* gives numerous quotations from the Grammar of Śākatāyana, but as several of them merely give the substance *of his rules, it would scarcely be safe to judge of his system on* the authority of this valuable Gana work [219] Unless, therefore,

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219 Relative to this work which is of the greatest importance for the study of Sanskrit grammar, Dr Boehtlingk gives the following information (vol II, p xxxiv — xli) —"A third work, which contains the *Ganas*, is the *Gana-ratna mahodadhi* (the great Ocean of the Gana-pearls) In London there exist two MS copies of this work the one in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, the other in that of the East India House [He adds some remarks on the age of the former MS, and continues] *The work consists of eight chapters* (अध्याय) and about 450 double verses Its author is *Śrī-Vardhamāna*, a pupil of *Śrī-Govinda*, and, as it is stated in the introductory verses, it owes its origin to the request of his pupils, three of whom he names in the commentary on his work, *viz*, Kumārapāla Haripāla, and Municandra Text and commentary are so corrupt in both Manuscripts, that at the very best only a tolerable text could be made up Besides, this collection was not intended for the work of Pānini, but for some more modern grammar There occur *Ganas* in it which are neither mentioned in the Sūtras nor in the Vārttikas Then, again, we find two Ganas which are separate in our collection [Dr B means the Ganas edited by him] combined into one, when the derivatives formed according to two different rules, differ from

it can be shown that there was no difference whatever and, much more so, if it can be shown that there *was a difference* between the technical method of both these grammarians, common sense would lean in favour of the conclusion that Kātyāyana, in his Vārttikas, hit at but one of his predecessors, and that this predecessor was the author as well of the eight grammatical books as of the Unnādi list, — Pānini

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one another only in accent The various readings of the *Gana-ratna-mahodadhi* (G R M) I have indicated merely at the Gana गड्गादि "—To this statement I have to append the following remarks —

1 When Dr Boehtlingk tells the public that there are but two MS copies of this work in London, his readers will no doubt believe, if they believe him,— indeed they cannot draw any other inference from his words than—that there are in London only two texts of the Ganas collected by Vardhamāna in his work, the Gana-ratna-mahodadhi I cannot suppose that there can be any one who would interpret the meaning of his words in the sense that there are only two catalogued Nos of this work in the libraries he is speaking of Yet I am compelled to take this favourable—though very unreasonable—view of his statement, in order not to be compelled to qualify it otherwise For, the fact is that the bound volume No 949 of the Library of the E I H , which he is speaking of, is indeed, one volume only, but contains *two distinct copies* of the work in question, written in *different* handwritings and constituting, therefore, *two separate* MSS These, added to the copy in the R A S form therefore, at first sight, *three* MSS , not *two*, as he says But I should trifle with my readers if I considered this correction as sufficient to illustrate the character of Dr Boehtlingk s statement The first MS of No 949 contains the text of the Gana-ratna-mahodadhi only, on 30 leaves The second MS of the same No 949 which is a commentary, by the same author, on his work, contains, first the text, and afterwards the comment, which repeats every word of the text, either literally or impliedly, by stating the derivatives from the word or words as they occur in the text The same method is observed in the MS belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society Hence we possess, in London, not *two texts*, nor yet *three*, but in reality *five* texts of this work

2 The MSS in question are, no doubt, open to correction as, indeed, probably every Sanskrit MS in existence is, but I hold that at all events

The proof that such a difference existed between Pānini and Śākatāyana, indeed, between him and all the grammarians who preceded his work, is afforded by a statement of Patañjali which is so important that it settles definitely, not only the question of the authorship of the Unnādi list, but of all the other works which follow the *anubandha* terminology of Pānini

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the ancient copy of the R A S will, in spite of its inaccuracies, be ranked by every one conversant with MSS, amongst *the best Sanskrit MSS in existence* And having considered it incumbent on me to study this book carefully, I have no hesitation in maintaining that even a tolerable Sanskrit scholar would be able to make a perfectly good edition of at least the text of this work, with the aid of these five copies of the text, the two copies of the commentary, and, as a matter of course, with the aid that may be got from Pānini and his commentaries

3 As to the nature of this work I must allow the reader to draw his own conclusions with regard to the credit that may be attached to the information given by Dr Boehtlingk, when I state that there is not one single Gana in the Gana-ratna-mahodadhi, the contents of which may not be referred either to Pānini's Sūtras or to the Vārttikas of Kāsikā, etc, and the commentaries on them, or to the Ganas connected with these works though the latter frequently do not contain so much matter as the Ganas of Vardhamāna who is later, and, as we may expect, made his own additions to previous lists The substance of its *Ganas* increased sometimes in the manner stated is often contained in several rules of, and in the *commentaries* on, Pānini and Kātyāyana which have been brought into Gana shape, while, at other times, several of its Ganas, also increased, as the case may be, differ from the Ganas to Pānini merely in so far as the heading word of the one occurs in the middle of the other, and *vice versa* Thus the two combined Ganas कृष्णादिपात्रादि of the G R M do not occur in the Ganas to Pānini, but give the substance of Pānini's Sūtra, and the commentaries on IV I, 42, its Gana कुन्तारकादि that of the commentaries on II I, 62, मतल्लिकादि that of the comm on II I, 66, समुन्यादि that of the comm on II I 53, नभ्राडादि that of VI 3, 75, व्यासादि that of Vārttika I to IV I 97, केदारादि that of IV 2, 39 40, अजादि that of Vārttikas to V I, 77 ऋगादि that of IV 3 72, etc — On the other hand, the Gana of the G R M उत्थापनादि is equivalent to the Gana to Pānini अनुप्रवचनादि (V I, III), its Gana देवव्रतादि to अवान्तर

In his comment on the Sutra VII 1, 18, which makes use of the technical declension affix *aun* (= *au*), he shows that the mute letter *n* has none of the properties which inhere in this

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दाक्षादि (V I, 94 v 3), निपत्यादि to अश्वपत्यादि (IV I 84) रसनादि to आकर्षादि (V 2 64) शिशुक्रन्दादि to इन्द्रजननादि (IV 3 88), वराहादि to कुमुदादि (IV 2, 80), भिक्षादि to खण्डिकादि (IV 2 45), etc etc —There are omitted *on principle*, in the G R M, all the Ganas (1) which have reference to the enumeration of affixes, *e g*, तसिलादि, भगादि etc, (2) of radicals which are referred to by Pānini in rules on *conjugation*, such as भ्वादि, अदादि etc, यजादि, पुषादि, etc, (3) those which concern Vaidika words, and (4) those appended to Pānini's rules on accentuation.— Of other Ganas to Pānini and the Vārttikas, mentioned in the Kāsikā, Siddhānta kaumudi and the Gana lists, which do not fall under any of these categories, there are omitted in the G R M the Ganas to Pānini or the Vārttikas आवादि (III 3, 94 v 1), इष्वादि (V 2, 29 v 5), उपकूलादि (IV 3, 58, v 1) कमलादि (IV 2, 51 v 1), गम्यादि (III 3, 3), दूर्वादि (IV 2, 51 v 2), तावादि (II 3, 17 v 2), निष्कादि (V I, 20), न्यङ्क्वादि (VII 3, 53), पार्श्वादि (III 2, 15 v 1), प्रकृत्यादि (II 3, 18 v 1), प्रतिवेशादि (VI 3, 122 v 3) प्रादि (I 4 58), प्लक्षादि (IV 3, 164), भवदादि (V 3, 14 v 1), भीमादि (III 4, 74), क्षुभ्नादि (VIII 4, 11 v 1), यौधेयादि (IV 1, 178, V 3, 117), रसादि (V 2, 95), वरणादि (IV 2, 82), बिल्वकादि (VI 4, 153), वृन्दादि (V 3, 66 v 5), शाकपार्थिवादि (II 1, 69 v 1), संकलादि (IV 2, 75), सपत्न्यादि (IV 1, 35), सवनादि (VIII 3, 110), सुवास्त्वादि (IV 2, 77), स्तोकादि (VI 3, 2), हरीतक्यादि (IV 2, 167), and perhaps बह्वादि (IV 1, 45), since only some words of this Gana are included in the Gana of the G R. M शोणादि — These omissions will be excused, if a report, current at Benares, be true, that the author died before he completed his work, but I have no doubt, whether this report be true or not, that they will be looked upon with the *greatest indulgence* by Dr Boehtlingk, as he himself, in his so-called "Alphabetical Ganapātha," has omitted *not less than about* 90 *ganas to the Sutras and Vārttikas*

4 That a work so *conscientiously described* by Dr Boehtlingk can have no value in his eyes is very obvious Others, however, may think differently, when they become acquainted with the real character of the *Gana-ratna-mahodadhi* Its Ganas, as I mentioned before, are all based on rules of Pānini, which very frequently are literally quoted for their

anubandha in the system of Pānini After some discussion on the various modes in which this *anubandha* could be dealt with,

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authority, while even, when they are not literally quoted, the reference made to their contents plainly shows their close relation to them The commentary not only enumerates every derivative formed—thus securing in most instances, beyond a doubt, the reading of the text,—but often gives instance from other works — grammatical, lexicographical, and poetical, several not yet published, as, for instance, those of *Gaja*, *Chandra*, *Jayāditya*, *Jinendrabuddhi*, *Durga*, *Bhoja*, *Śākatāyana*, *Halāyudha*, etc And, above all, it supplies us with the meanings of a considerable portion of such Gana-words as have been hitherto either not understood at all, or understood imperfectly Of the 12,000 words, and upwards, which I have collected from this work for grammatical and lexicographical purposes, there are at least 3,000 which would fall under the latter category, and they have signally avenged themselves on the detractor of this work, as, in his own Dictionary, he is now compelled to leave, in a great many instances, a very telling blank space, which would have been filled up if he had really read the Gana ratna-mahodadhi, while in other instances he would have obtained additional meanings to those which he assigns to certain words When I mention, moreover, that this *Gana-ratna-mahodadhi* is the *only known work in existence* which gives a commentary on the Ganas to, or connected with, Pānini—so obscure in many respects,—comprising also, as I before observed, many Sūtras of, and Vārttikas to Pānini, and when, thus, it becomes evident that a conscientious editor of Pānini ought to have *eagerly* availed himself of the instruction afforded him by this unique work, it will, perhaps, be intelligible why a certain Nemesis has induced Dr Boehtlingk to divert the attention of the scientific public from the MSS of this work, by describing their condition and contents as he has done As a matter of curiosity, I may, in conclusion, add, that the only Gana of the G R M, the various readings and meanings of which he has registered in his "Alphabetical Ganapātha —the Gana कण्ड्वादि occurs *very near the end* of the whole work, *viz*, at fol 28, in the text of MS 949 of the E I H, which ends on fol 30, and at fol 119 of the combined text and commentary of the same MS, which ends on fol 121 In the palm-leaf MS of the R A S, which ends on fol 178, this Gana stands at fol 168 The title of a Sanskrit book, I need not mention, is always given at the *end* of a manuscript

so as not to interfere with the consistency of the method of Pāṇini, he concludes with the following words "Or this rule belongs to a Sūtra of a former grammarian, *but whatever anubandhas occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian they have no anubandha effect in this work*"

Hence we learn from Patañjali, who is the very last author that can be suspected of having made such an important assertion without a knowledge of the works anterior to the Grammar of Pāṇini, that, though Pāṇini adopted from his predecessors such technical symbols as *ti ghu bha,* and though he availed himself of other terms of theirs which have a meaning and an etymology (see page 184),—he did not adopt their technical *anubandhas*, and if he avails himself of such an *anubandha,* as that in rule VII 1, 18, we must look upon it as a quotation made by him, but not as influencing the rule in which it occurs [220]

Now, all the Uṇādi affixes have *anubandhas,* which are exactly the same, and have the same grammatical effect, as those used by Pāṇini They cannot be later than his work, for it refers to them they cannot have preceded it, for Patañjali *says that "whatever anubandhas occur in a Sūtra of a former grammarian, they have no* *anubandha* effect in Pāṇini's work" Consequently the Uṇādi list *must be of Pāṇini's own authorship*

Having settled this point, we may now ask, whether the criticisms of Kātyāyana do not lead to a further inference? When Kātyāyana finds fault with Pāṇini for having overlooked the fact that the vowel *ā* remains long in *rāka, dhāka,* or for having given an inadequate rule for such derivations as *krsara* and *dhūsara, varsha* and *tarsha,* such criticism applies to omissions which may occur in the case of an author, even a

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220 VII 1, 18 औङ आपः —Patañjali (towards the end of his discussion) अथवा पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देशोऽयम् । पूर्वसूत्रे च येऽनुबन्धा न तैरिहेत्कार्याणि क्रियन्ते — Kaiyyaṭa अथवेति पूर्वाचार्यैर् अपि द्विवचने ङित्वं पठितं न चेह कश्चिद्यो ङप्रत्ययो ङिदस्ति सामान्यग्रहणार्थं च पूर्वसूत्रनिर्देश etc — For पूर्वसूत्र, compare also note 46

Pānini But when he reproaches him with having spoiled the consistency of his *anubandhas* — so dear to a Hindu grammarian — this blemish seems to me so important, and would probably appear so much more important to a Hindu Pandit, that it *compels* my conclusions to take another course For it was obviously so easy for him to modify his rules VII 1, 2, and VII 3, 50, in ord r to meet the objections raised by Kātyāyana,- to do, in other words, that which he has done in an analogous case, [221] and the matter he is reproached with in the Vārttikas must have been so deeply impressed on his mind that it seems almost impossible not to draw another result from the strictures of Kātyāyana And this result is no other than that either the words which are alluded to by the author of the Vārttikas in these criticisms did not yet exist when Pānini wrote, or that they had in his time another etymology than that stated by Kātyāyana And if this view be correct, it would also add another fact to those I have advanced in favour of the argument that Pānini and Kātyāyana cannot have been *contemporaries*

The passage just now quoted from Patañjali's Great Commentary, and the conclusions which had to be drawn from it, enable us at once to see that Pānini must also have been the author of the Dhātupātha frequently referred to in his rules This list makes use of the same mute letters which are the *anubandhas* of Pānini's Grammar, and their grammatical value is exactly the same in both works According to Patañjali's statement, therefore, the Dhātupātha of Pānini cannot have

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221 Nominal bases derived with the *krt* affixes तृच् or तृन् have certain properties of declension which are taught by Pānini The Unādi say (II 96) that some of the bas s नप्तृ, नेष्टृ, त्वष्टृ, होतृ पोतृ, भ्रातृ, जामातृ मातृ, पितृ दुहितृ are derivatives formed with तृच् and others with तृन् But since all of them do not share in the declension properties of the तृच् and तृन् bases, Pānini gives a 1ule, VI 4, 11, which obviates an objection that might have been made, like that brought forward by Kātyāyana in his Vārttikas to VII 1, 2 and VII 3, 50

been arranged by any one else than Pāninі.[222] Whether another Dhātupātha existed previously to Pānini does not concern us here, since it is not known to us, nor does it belong to my present purpose to examine whether the Dhātupātha which has reached us has received additions from those who wrote, and commented on it, *and if so, to what extent* There is the same probability for such additions having been made to the original list as in the case of all other Ganas, and we may fairly, therefore, ascribe the present Dhātupāthas to various authors, who also, perhaps, added meanings to the list composed by Pānini, since there is no *direct* evidence to show that Pānini did more than arrange this list with the *anubandhas* attached to the radicals All these questions, however, are foreign to the present subject It is quite enough for the settlement of this question that the groundwork of the only Dhātupātha we now possess, is, like the groundwork of the Unnādi list, the work of Pānini

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The problem which concerns the chronological relation between Pānini and the *Prātiśākhyas*, more especially those of the *Rgveda* and the *Vājasaneyi-Samhitā*, has a still greater claim to our attention than that discussed in the foregoing remarks[223]

222 Compare my previous observations at pages 58–59 and the following pages

223 I can here only speak of those two Prātisākhyas which have become generally accessible — the Rk Prāt through the valuable and learned edition of Mr Regnier, and the Vājasaneyi Prāt through that of Professor Weber — because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the two others, which are not yet published, and are not met with in the libraries of London, so as to feel justified in uttering opinions which I could not fully substantiate But as I have no ground for doubting the *matter-of-fact* statements concerning these two latter works for which we are indebted to the industry of Professor Weber in his perface to his edition of the Vājasaneyi Prāt, I should infer from them that the Atharva-veda Prāt must be more recent than the Rk Prāt, and that, in all probability, the Taittiriya Prāt also is posterior to the same Prātisākhya So far, therefore, as this latter inference — but this latter

The immediate connection of these grammatical writings with the collections of Vaidika hymns, gives to them an appearance of importance which some may deny to the *Dhātupātha* and the *Unnādi* list Besides, the speculations to which they have been subjected by several authors show that in spite of the seeming unanimity of their results, there is no work of Hindu antiquity which *has caused more uncertainty, as respects the* question of date, than these Prātiśākhya works

There are, I conceive, two ways in which the solution of the problem of which I am here speaking, may be attempted, the one *literary*, the other *historical* But before I offer from the evidence at my disposal such facts as may enable us to arrive at a settled conclusion on this point, it is my duty to state the prevalent opinion as to the relation of these works to Pānini, *and the reasons with which this opinion has hitherto been* supported I take for this purpose the works of those authors who have dealt more comprehensively than others with subjects which concern the Vaidika literature, and whose conclusions express, I believe, on this point, the creed of actual Sanskrit philologers

Professor Müller writes in his History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p 120*), as follows ' The real object of the Prātiśākhyas, *as shown before, was not to teach the grammar of the* old sacred language, to lay down the rules of declension and conjugation, or the principles of the formation of words This is a doctrine which, though it could not have been unknown during the Vaidika period, has not been embodied, as far as we know, in any ancient work The Prātiśākhyas are never called Vyākaranas, grammars, and it is only incidentally that they allude to strictly grammatical questions The perfect phonetic *system on which* Pānini's Grammar is built is no doubt taken from the Prātiśākhyas, but the sources of Pānini s strictly grammatical doctrines must be looked for elsewhere "

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inference only — is concerned, and with all the reservation which is implied by the source whence my information has been obtained, I shall feel free to speak of *all* the Prātiśākhyas Otherwise I shall merely treat of the two former

* Vide p 106—Chowkhamba Edition

Thus, according to this author, all the Prātiśākhyas *"no doubt"* preceded Pānini s Grammar, and we must infer, too, from Professor Muller's words, that he meant by Prātiśākhyas those either edited or preserved in MSS , since his conclusions cannot *consistently* have been founded on any imaginary Prātiśākhya *which may or may not have preceded those that we* now possess, — which may or may not have dealt with the same subjects in the same manner as the works we are here alluding to Nor can it have been his object merely to state what is sufficiently known, that there were other grammarians, though not authors of Prātiśākhyas, before Pānini who gave rules on Vaidika words, since Pānini himself makes mention of them

Professor Roth whom we have to thank for an edition of Yāska's Nirukta, states his view to the same effect in the following words [224] " Grammar, therefore, took the same natural course of development as we find it has taken elsewhere It did not proceed from the foundation of the living language, but owed its origin to the observation of that difference which exists between certain forms of language in the actual intercourse of life and those of written works , and, at first, it confined itself to pointing out chiefly these differences Then, again, it comprised, not the whole mass of literature, but only single books, especially important to certain classes of society (*einzelne in den betreffenden Kreisen besonders wichtige Bucher*) Thus the path was opened to a general grammar treating as well of written as of spoken language , we meet this first in Pānini, and from this time all those special grammars gradually disappear from general use "

There is but one thing wanting to this very interesting statement of Professor Roth s, *viz* that he should inform us whence he obtained this invaluable historical account of the rise and progress of Sanskrit grammar No doubt he has some voucher of high authority for the important fact that grammar began and proceeded in India in the manner he describes , and that

224 In the Preface to his edition of the Nirukta, p xliii —The original text of this quotation, it is superfluous to mention, is in German and in *very good* German, too

these special grammars, the Prātiśākhyas, which he enumerates immediately afterwards, were the pioneers of Pānini's work But as he has forgotten to give us the name of his authority, we must, for the present at least, be permitted to look upon this graphic narration of his as a contribution to Vaidika poetry

Professor Weber, with a caution that almost startles one in so bold a writer, who, as we have seen above (p 84), has witnessed the progress of the Āryans in their conquest of India 1500 B. C, does not sweep over *all* the Prātiśākhyas with his chronological brush, but merely records his views of the relation of Pānini to one of them, the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, or that of the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā

" We now come to Pānini himself," he says in his preface to his edition of this work, "that is to say ("*resp*"), to the *description of the relations which exist between him* and the Vājas Prāt These relations are, on the one hand, very close,—since a great number of the rules contained in it re-occur, individually, either literally or nearly literally in Pānini, and since the Vāj Prāt, like Pānini, now and then makes use of an algebraic terminology, but, on the other hand, there is again a vast gulf between them, since this algebraic terminology does not entirely correspond, like that of the Ath Prāt with that of Pānini, but, on the contrary, partly thoroughly (*zum teil ganz*) differs from it The particulars on this point are the following —There correspond with Pānini—*tin* I, 27, *ān* VI, 24 (MS *A*, however, reads merely *ā*), *luk* III, 12, *lup* I, 114 (√*lup*—"*resp*"—*lopa* occur several times, but already, too, in the Rk Prāt and Taitt Prāt), the use of *t* in *et* and *ot*, I, 114, IV, 58, may likewise be added, and, amongst other expressions which are not algebraic, *upapadam* VI, 14 23, *yadvrttam* VI, 14 (compare Pān, VIII 1,48, *kimvrtta*), *anudesa* I, 843, *dhātu*, *verbal root*, V, 10, *anyataratas* V, 15 (Pan *anyatarasyām*) *linga*, gender, IV, 170 (only in *BE*), sañjñā IV, 96 — But there belong exclusively to the Vāj Prāt, and there have been nowhere shown to exist the algebraic terms *sim* I, 44, IV, 50, for the eight simple vowels, *jit* I, 50, 167 III, 12 IV 118, for the tenues inclusive of the sibilants (except *h*), *mud* I, 52 III, 8, 12, IV, 119 for *ś*,

sh s, *dhı* I, 53 IV, 35 37 117, for the sonant sounds, and to these may be added — *bhāvın* I, 46 III, 21, 55 IV, 33 45 VII, 9, for the desıgnatıon of all vowels except *ā rıt* = *rıphıta* IV, 33 VI, 9, and *sankrama* III, 148, IV, 77 165, 194, for they, too, are pecuhar to the Vāj Prāt alone

" If thus, then, the ındependence of thıs Prāt of Pānını be vouched for wıth a tolerable amount of certaınty (*mıt zıemlıcher Sıcherheıt*), we shall be able to look upon the numerous lıteral coıncıdences between both, eıther as [the result of theır] havıng drawn [them] from a common source, or of Pānını havıng borrowed [them] from the Vāj Prāt, just as we have the same choıce ın the case of the rules whıch are common to the Kātīya-śrautasūtra I 8, 19 20, and Pān I 2, 33, 34 In the latter case the former conjecture may be preferable (compare also Vāj Prāt I 130) but ın our present case I should myself, ındeed, rather (*ın der tat eher*) prefer decıdıng for Pānını's havıng borrowed [them] ımmedıately [from the Vājasaneyı–Prātıśākhya], on account of the great specıalıty of some of these rules For, a certaın posterıorıty (*eıne gewısse Posterıorıtat*) of the latter — ındependently of [hıs] havıng much more developed the algebraıc termınology — seems to me to result wıth a tolerable amount of certaınty (*mıt zıemlıcher Sıcherheıt*), from the cırcumstance also, that the pronuncıatıon of the short *a* was ın hıs tıme already so much (*bereıts so sehr*) *samvrta*, covered, that he does not make thıs vowel, but *u*, the type of the remaınıng vowels, whereas the Vāj Prāt (and lıkewıse the Ath Prāt), ıt ıs true, agree wıth hım ın the *samvrtatā* of the vowel *a*, but stıll retaın ıt as the purest vowel , compare the note to I, 72 But ıt ıs true that local dıfferences mıght have been the cause of thıs, sınce Pānını seems to belong to the North-West, but the Vāj Prāt to the East of Indıa

"For the posterıorıty of the Vāj Prāt to Pānını (*fur eıne Posterıorıtat des Vāj Pr nach Pānını*) ıt mıght be alleged, at the very utmost (*hochstens*) that the author of the Vārttıkas to Pānını bears the same name as the author of the Vāj Prāt There are, ındeed, between both some dırect poınts of contact,– comp III 13 41 46, — but then agaın there are also dırect

dıfferences, comp (III 85) IV 119 In general, sameness of names, lıke that of Kātyāyana, can never prove the ıdentıty of persons [who bore them], there ıs nothıng proved by ıt, except that both belonged to the same famıly or ("*resp*") were followers of the same school, — the Katās

"Amongst the Sūtras whıch are ıdentıcal ın the Vāj Prāt, and ın Pānını, we must now poınt out, first, some general rules whıch are of the greatest ımportance for the economy of the whole arrangement of both texts, and whıch, ındeed, are of so specıal a nature that they seem to claım wıth a tolerable amount of force (*mıt zıemlıcher Entschıedenheıt*) [the assumptıon of the one] havıng borrowed from the other They are the three followıng (called *parıbhāshā* by the scholıast to Pānını) *tasmınnıtı nırdıshte pūrvasya*, Vāj Prāt I, 34 Pān I, 66,—*'tasmādıtyuttarasyādeh*, Vāj Prāt I 135 Pān I 1, 67 (wıthout *ādeh*, but see 54),—*'shashthı sthāneyogā,'* Vāj Prāt I, 136 Pān I 1, 49 —There are very remarkable also *'samkhyātānām ānudeśo yathāsamkhyam* Vāj Prāt I 143, compared wıth Pān I 3, 10 *'yathāsamkhyam anudesah samānām'*, and *'vıpratıshedha uttaram balavad alope'*, I, 159, compared wıth *'vıpratıshedhe param kāryam*, Pān I 4, 2 But both [passages] do not requıre [the supposıtıon of] *such* a specıal relatıon (*beıde bedıngen ındess nıcht eın so specıelles Verhaltnıss*), for they mıght be brought home to a common source ın the general grammatıcal tradıtıon (*sondern konnten auf gemeınsame Quelle ın der allgemeınen grammatıschen Tradıtıon zurückgeführt werden*) (the *sāmānyam* of the Ath Prāt I, 3, *'evam ıhetı ca vıbhāshāprāptam sāmānye*) Lıkewıse, *varnasyādarsanam lopah* I, 141, Pān I 1, 60 (wıthout *varnasya*),— *'uccaır udāttah* — *'nıcaır anudāttah'*— *'ubhayavān svarıtah* I, 108–110, Pān I· 2, 29–31 (where *samāhārah* stands for *ubh*),–*'tasyādıta udātta svarārdhamātram'*, I, 126, Pān I 2, 32 (where *ardha hrasvam*),–*'udāttac cāundāttā svarıtam* — *nodātta-svarıtodayam* IV, 134 140, *udāttād anudāttasya svarıtah* — *nodātta svarıtodayam'*, Pān VIII 4, 66 67, — *'samāna sthāna–karanāsya-prayatnah savarnah,'* I 45, *'tulyāsya-prayatnam savarnam*, Pān I 1, 9, — *'āsıd ıtı cottaram vıcāre*, II, 53, *uparı svıd āsıd ıtı ca*, Pān VIII 2, 102 (97),—*'nus cāmredıte* IV, 8, *kan āmredıte,'* Pān VIII 3, 12–

There are besides these a very great number (*eine sehr grosse Zahl*) of coincidences [between them], for instance, IV, 49 (Pān VI 1, 84), VI, 19–23 (Pān. VIII 1, 58–63) which, however, may be accounted for simply (*einfach*) by the similarity of their subject In some of these instances the Vāj Prāt is decidedly inferior (*steht entschieden zuruck*) to Pānini (comp the note to II, 19 20) Its grammatical terminology does not appear to have attained the survey and systematic perfection represented in Pānini, [225] but compare also my former general statement on the want of skill or ("*resp*") probably want of practice of the author (*vgl indess auch das bereits im Eingange p 68—über die Ungeschicklichkeit resp wohl Ungeübtheit des Vfs im Allgemeinen Bemerkte*) In most instances, however, from being restricted to the one text of the Vājas —Samhitā, he is in a better position than Pānini, who has to deal with the whole linguistic stock, and therefore he is enabled to give rules with a certain safety and precision, when Pānini either wavers in indecision (*bahulam*) or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way (comp the notes to II, 30 55 III, 27 95 IV, 58) [226]

225 The words of the text are "Die grammatische Fixirung scheint eben daselbst noch nicht zu der in Pānini repraesentirten Uebersicht und systematischen Vollkommenheit gelangt gewesen zu sein" I confess my utter inability to guarantee the correctness of the translation of this passage What is the "grammatical fixing!" and of what? I have assumed that these words may have been intended for 'terminology, but for aught I know they may mean anything else And what 'survey is represented in Pānini?

226 Indische Studien, vol IV pp 83—86 Once more, and considering the possibility of a reproach which may be made to my translation of his words I must express the conviction that I have not only brought the original before the English reader literally and faithfully, but even favourably Professor Weber's mode of composition, in all his writings, is not only grammatically incorrect and illogically elliptical, but devoid of the very smallest amount of that care which every reader is entitled to expect in his author I could have wished that he, not I, had been compelled to undergo the agony of rendering his original into English with a view of combining the consideration due to my readers

Two distinct reasons have induced me to give a full hearing to Professor Weber on this important question I do so, in the first place, because the lengthened passage I have quoted from his Preface to the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya—*in my opinion, his most important literary work* — is a thorough specimen of the manner and of the critical method — of the scholarship also, as I shall show hereafter — in which he deals with, and which he brings to bear on, all his learned investigations, in the second place, because to give him a hearing at all—and his great industry and his merit of having touched, with no inconsiderable damage *to himself, upon all the burning questions* of ancient Sanskrit literature, entitles him to one — was to give him a *full* hearing, in the fullness of all his words For, though it be possible to perceive the qualities of a clear spring by taking a *draught from it, however small, a whirlpool can only be appreciated* by seeing it entire and in the condition in which it happens to exist

If I had attempted, for instance, to maintain that Professor Weber looks upon the algebraic terminology of Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya and Pānini's Grammar, "on the one hand as very close to, and on the other hand as throughly differing from, one another" (p *186,* lines *15–21),* he would have justly upbraided me with not representing him faithfully, for he really says the one differs " partly thoroughly " from the other. Again, should I have ventured upon the statement that he considers Pānini's work as *later than this Prātiśākhya, because he* says that it has borrowed a good deal from it, he would have pointed at p 187, line 18, where he speaks of a "certain posteriority" of Pānini, which kind of posteriority is just as intelligible to my mind *as the answer which some one,* whom I asked about his travels, gave me, *viz* , that he had been, but not exactly, on the Continent Or, if I had said that his chief argument for this " *certain posteriority" is the difference in the pronunciation of the short ă,* between Pānini and Kātyāyana, since this difference led to his conclusion with " a tolerable amount

with a scrupulous faithfulness in the version of his words and thoughts The words between [ ] have been added by me in order to make something like sense of some of his sentences

of certainty" (p 205, line 22), he would reply "You are mistaken I stated that this difference may have been caused by local reasons (line 29), it has, therefore, not the slightest conclusiveness" Or if I gave his opinion on the relative proficiency *of both authors to this effect, that he considers the* Vājasaneyi Prātiśākhya as being *"decidedly* inferior" (p 207, line 6) in this regard to Pānini's work, he would have pointed to line 18, in showing me how much I erred in attributing to him the idea of such "a decided inferiority," for it is the Prātiśākhya, on the contrary, which, "in most instances, gives the rules with a certain amount of safety and precision, when Pānini either wavers in indecision, or decides in an erroneous and one-sided way"

We must, therefore, leave the whirlpool, such as it is, *and in doing so we cannot but appreciate the immense* advantage which an author enjoys, when he is impartial enough to arrive at his conclusions unbiassed by a knowledge of the subject of which he is speaking Professor Weber has made up his mind that the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya *must* be anterior to Pānini, probably because it "appears extremely ticklish" to him to decide otherwise, hence he is not troubled with any of those cares which are likely to disturb the minds of scholars who would first endeavour to study both works before they drew their inferences from them He meets with an overwhelming amount of identical passages in the two works he finds that their terminology is likewise identical to a certain degree,— hence he concludes either Pānini has borrowed these passages and this terminology from Kātyāyana, or both authors have borrowed them from a common source. For, as to a third alternative,— that Kātyāyana may have borrowed such passages from Pānini, it is dispatched by him "with a tolerable amount of certainty," as ranging amongst *things impossible, because Pānini is later than the* Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, and this posteriority, again, he chiefly bases on the argument that the pronunciation of the short *ă* was, *in* the time of Pānini, "already so much covered," that he had to take the vowel *u* for his type of a vowel sound, whereas Kātyāyana could still make use of the vowel *a* as the typical

vowel in his Vaidika rules Now, though I have already mentioned that this great argument is strangled by him as soon as it is born, I must nevertheless take the liberty of asking for the authority which supplied him with the circumstantial account of this phonetic history of the vowel *a*? Pānini and Kātyāyana both state and imply, as he himself admits, that the vowel *ă* is pronounced *samvrta*, or with the contraction of the throat, they do *not say one single word* more on the pronunciation of this sound, nor is there any *grammarian known to me who does so much as allude to* the fantastical story narrated by Professor Weber relative to this vowel *ă* An ordinary critic, then, would content himself with the authentic information supplied him by both grammarians, and if he perceived that Pānini, in his rule I 2, 27, gives the vowel *ŭ* as a *specimen* vowel, and not as a type, while Kātyāyana chooses the vowel *a* for such a *specimen*, he would conclude that, even should there be a real scientific motive for this difference, it cannot be founded on a different pronunciation of the vowel *ă*, since it is repudiated by both grammarians But a critic like Professor Weber who looks upon facts as worsted if they do not agree with his theories, concludes that this vowel *a* was "*already so much samvrta*" in the time of Pānini, that he must needs throw it overboard, and receive *ŭ* into the ark of his grammatical terminology

And here I may, in passing, advert once more to a practice sometimes met with in literary arguments It consists in quietly introducing into the premises some such innocent words as "more," or "almost," or "already," or "so much, or similar adverbs of small size, which have not the slightest claim to any such hospitality, and then, suddenly, these little interlopers grow into mastership, and sway the discussion into which they had stealthily crept Thus, Pānini and Kātyāyana, as I have just said, speak of the vowel *ă* simply as *samvrta*, and upon these words Professor Weber reports that "*a* in the time of Pānini was *already so much samvrta*" — that important secrets may be extracted from this grand discovery

The foregoing illustration of Professor Weber's critical remarks does not embrace the arguments in which he splits

into two, Kātyāyana, the author of our Prātiśākhya, and Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārttikas to Pānini, for I shall first quote the observations of Professor Muller on this treatment of Kātyāyana In speaking of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya he expresses himself thus [227] "It was composed by Kātyāyana, and shows a considerable advance in grammatical technicalities [viz, in comparison with the Prātiśākhya of the Black Yajurveda] There is nothing in its style that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātiśakhya should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pānini It is true that Pānini s rules are intended for a language which was no longer the pure Sanskrit of the Vedas The Vaidika idiom is treated by him as an exception, whereas Kātyāyana s Prātiśākhya seems to belong to a period when there existed but one recognised literature, that of the Rshis This, however, is not quite the case Kātyāyana himself alludes to the fact that there were at least two languages 'There are two words, he says (I 17), '*om* and *atha,* both used in the beginning of a chapter, but *om* is used in the Vedas, *atha* in the Bhāshyas' As Kātyāyana himself writes in the Bhāshya, or the common language, there is no reason why he should not have composed rules on the grammar of the profane Sanskrit, as well as on the pronunciation of the Vaidika idiom"

In other words, Professor Muller sees that in no *grammatical* work known to him — and I may safely add to anyone else — mention is made of two Kātyāyānas, he sees, no doubt, too — though he does not state the fact adverted to by Professor Weber himself — that several Vārttikas to Pānini correspond in substance with the Sūtras correct and plausible premises, that there is nothing in either work to discountenance the possibility of the author of the Vārttikas having *also written* a work on the pronunciation of Vaidika words, and since he doubtless coincides with me in the opinion that even Sanskrit philology can neither gain in strength nor in esteem by freeing itself from the fetters of common sense,—

[227] Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 138, line 10 [= p 122, line 19 — Chowkhambā Edition]

he arrives at the result that the hypercritical splitting of the one Kātyāyana into two, as proposed by Professor Weber, is utterly *fantastical* I shall support his view with stronger proof than may be gathered from the quotations I have made, but in *leaving for a while the whirlpool of the Indische* Studien, I must now take up Professor Muller's own theory

After the words just given, he continues as follows "Some of Kātyāyana's Sutras are now found repeated *ipsissimis verbis** in Pānini's Grammar This might seem strange, but we know that not all the Sūtras now incorporated in his grammar came *from his supplementary notes to Pānini,* simply repeated some of his Prātiśākhya-sūtras, and that, at a later time, some of these so-called Vārttikas became part of the text of Pānini"

Thus, in order to establish the theory that Pānini's work is *later than* the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, whom Muller, as we know, conceives to be a contemporary of Pānini, he presents us with this very plausible sequence and chain of works —1 The Prātiśākhyas of Kātyāyana 2 The Grammar of Pānini 3 The Vārttikas of Kātyāyana And since some rules of the second work are identical with some of the first, he assumes that such rules marched from the first into the third, and they then gradually invaded the second work Now even supposing that such a migration of rules could be supported by a particle of evidence, what becomes of those stubborn *Prātiśākhya Sūtras and Vārttikas of Kātyāyana* which are identical in their contents — as I shall hereafter show — and which have not ventured to walk into the Sūtras of Pānini? They become the stumbling block of the whole theory, for since Pānini, and especially Pānini the contemporary of *Kātyāyana, could not have written rules of which the defects* must have been apparent to him, if he had seen rules so much better in a work written before his own, the substance of these Sūtras of Kātyāyana could not have simultaneously preceded and followed the Grammar of Pānini But I need *not go further in showing* the weakness of this theory, for I

* In the same words

have already explained (p 32, etc) that out of the 3996 Sūtras which form the present bulk of Pānini's Grammar, only three, or perhaps four, may be ascribed to Kātyāyana, *on critical* and *tenable* grounds A mere supposition, unsupported by any *proof*, that the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya is older than Pānini's work, can certainly not justify the sweeping doubt which is levelled by Professor Muller against the whole work of Pānini, and which is not even substantiated—as we might have expected it to have been — by a distinct enumeration of all or any of those Sūtras which he would propose to restore to their rightful owner, Kātyāyana

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In now proceeding to state the reasons which induce me to look upon all Prātiśākhya-Sūtras, not only as posterior to Pānini's Grammar, but to Pānini himself, and separated from him by at least several generations, I must, in the first place, point out the general fallacy which has led to the assumption that these works are anterior to Pānini It consists in applying the standard of the notion of *grammar* to both categories of works, and having done this, in translating the result obtained, which is less favourable to the Prātiśākhyas than to Pānini's work, into categories of time — priority and posteriority An analogous fallacy would be too apparent to require any remark, if it premised conclusions concerning the chronological relation of works of a totally different nature and character It may assume however, as it has done, a certain degree of plausibility if it be applied to works of a similar category

I must observe, therefore, in adverting to Professor Muller's own words, as before quoted, that the term *vyākarana*, grammar, though constantly and *emphatically* given to Pānini's work, has not been applied by any author within my knowledge to a *Prātiśākhya* work[228] This circumstance,

[228] I may here observe that the full title of Patañjali's Great Commentary is not simply *Mahābhāshya*, but *Vyākarana-Mahābhāshya* The end, for instance of a chapter in the sixth book of the great Commentary runs thus इति श्रीमद्भगवत्पतञ्जलिविरचिते व्याकरणमहाभाष्ये षष्ठाध्यायस्य द्वितीयपादे प्रथमाह्निकम् ।

however, implies an important fact which must not be overlooked Tradition, from immemorial times, as *everyone knows*, connects with the Veda a class of works which stand in the most intimate relation to it — the *Vedānga* works One of them is the *Vyākarana* The *Prātiśākhyas* do not belong to them Thus, tradition even in India,— and on this kind of tradition probably the most squeamish *critic will permit* me to lay some stress,— does not rank amongst the most immediate offsprings of the Vaidika literature, those works which *apparently* stand in the closest relation to it,— which have no other object than that of treating of the Vaidika texts of the Samhitās, — but it has canonised Pānini's Vyākarana, which, on the contrary, would seem to be more concerned with the language of common life than with that of the sacred hymns Is it probable, let me ask, even at this early stage, that *tradition would have taken this course if it had* looked upon these Prātiśākhyas as prior to the work of Pānini ?

But this question will receive a more direct answer if we compare the aim and the contents of both these classes of works *Vyākarana* means "*un-doing*," *i e*, analysis, and Pānini's Grammar is intended to be a linguistic analysis · it *un-does* words and *un-does* sentences which consist of words, it examines the component parts of a word, and therefore teaches us the properties of base and affix, and all the linguistic phenomena connected with both, it examines the relation, in sentences, of one word to another, and likewise unfolds all the *linguistic phenomena which are inseparable* from the meeting of words

The Prātiśākhyas have no such aim, and their contents consequently differ materially from those of the *Vyākarana* Their object is merely the ready-made word, or base, in the condition in which it is fit to enter into a sentence, or into composition with another base, and more especially the ready-made word or base as part of a Vaidika hymn These works are no wise concerned in analysing or explaining the nature of a word or base, they take them, such as they occur in *Pada text and teach the changes which they undergo when*

they become part of the spoken sentence, i e, of the spoken hymn And the consequence implied by these latter words entails, moreover, on the Prātiśākhyas the duty of paying especial attention to all the phenomena which accompany the *spoken* words, hence they deal largely with the facts of pronunciation, accent, and the particular mode of sounding a syllable or word in connection with ritual acts

This brief comparison will already have hinted at the point of contact which exists between Pānini and the authors of these Prātiśākhya works Leaving aside the wider range of the domain of the former, and the narrower field of the Vaidika pursuits of the latter, we may at once infer that both will meet on the ground of phonetic rules, of accentuation, and of the properties of sound, but we shall likewise infer that any other comparison between both would be as irrelevant as if we compared Pānini with Suśruta, or the Prātiśākhyas with the Jyotisha

The aim of both categories of works being entirely different, there is neither a logical nor an historical necessity, nor does there exist a fact or a circumstance which would enable us to conclude, from the absence in these Prātiśākhyas of certain grammatical matter, that their authors were not as much conversant with it as Pānini, who treats of it, because it is his object, and therefore his duty, to treat of it

These facts being beyond the reach of doubt, we may again raise an *a priori* question whether it is more probable that the *plan* of Pānini's work preceded in time the *plan* of a Prātiśākhya work, or the reverse ?

Throughout a great portion of his admirable Introduction to Pānini, Patañjali endeavours to impress on the reader the great importance of grammatical study for promoting the objects of religion and holiness He shows that a knowledge of language is necessary to a proper understanding of the sacred texts, that no priest is safe in the practice of rites without a thorough comprehension of the grammatical laws which define the nature of sounds and words,— in short, that nothing less than eternal bliss depends very much on the proper and

correct use made of *words, and, as a consequence, on the* study of Pāṇini

Here, then, we have a distinct definition of the relation of Pāṇini to the Vaidika texts,— a distinct statement of the causes which have produced the *Vyākaraṇa* And what do they show else, than that Pāṇini must have stood in the midst of a *living* religion, of a creed which understood itself, *or at least had still the vigour to try to understand itself?*

In Pāṇini there is organism and life In the Prātiśākhyas there is mechanism and death They do not care for the sense of a word A word *antah*, for instance, is to them merely a combination of five sounds, nothing else, for whether it represents the nominative of *anta*, "end," or the adverb *antar*, "between," is perfectly indifferent to them The rule *of* Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya on *this word (II 26), is, therefore,* as dreary as a grammatical rule could ever be imagined to be, and *the critical remarks which Professor Weber has attached* to this rule merely prove that, on this occasion, also he beats the air

It does not follow, as I have before observed, that, because linguistic death reigns in these Sūtras, Kātyāyana or their other *authors must have been as ignorant of grammar as it would* seem if these works made any claim to be grammars at all It merely follows that, in the period in which they were written, there existed a class of priests who had to be drilled into a proper recital af the sacred texts, and it may follow, too, that this set of men had none of the spirit, learning, and intelligence, which Patañjali would wish to find in a man who practises religious rites

In other words, it seems to me that between Pāṇini s living *grammar and these dead Prātiśākhyas, there* lies a space of time sufficient to create a want, of which a very insignificant trace is perhaps *perceptible in some of Pāṇini s Vaidika rules,* but which must have been irresistible at the period of the Prātiśākhya works

In substantiating with material proofs the priority of Pāṇini's work, I may dispense with giving evidence that Pāṇini meant,

in his eight grammatical books, to concern himself with Vaidika language as well as the language of common life For I should have simply to quote hundreds of his rules which are entirely devoted to Vaidika texts, and I should have to carry the reader through the whole Introduction of Patañjali, which proves, as I have already mentioned, that one of the chief objects of grammar is the correct apprehension of the hymns I will merely therefore compare, first some matter treated by Pānini with some matter treated by the Rk-Prātiśākhya,—such matter, of course, as admits of a point of contact between both, and therefore of a comparison at all

The fifth chapter of the latter work treats of the cases in which the consonant *s* becomes *sh*, the same subject is comprised in the latter part of the third chapter of Pānini's eighth book, but this book does not contain the smallest number of the cases mentioned in the Rk-Prātiśākhya The same work enumerates in the same chapter the words and classes of words in which *n* becomes *n*, and very few only of these instances are taught by Pānini in the last chapter of his work A similar remark applies with still greater force to a comparison of Pānini s rules on the prolongation of vowels with those given by the Rk-Prātiśākhya in its seventh, eighth, and ninth chapters In short, there is not a single chapter in this work which, whenever it allows of a comparison between its contents of analogous chapters of Pānini's Grammar, must not at once be declared to be infinitely more complete than the rules on them delivered by Pānini

In addressing myself for a like purpose to the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, I might seem to do that which is superfluous For, as I have shown before that Pānini was not acquainted with a Vājasaneyi Samhitā, it would require no further proof that he must have preceded a work which is entirely devoted to this collection of hymns But as such a comparison, being extended also to the Vārttikas, would involve at the same time the question whether the author of the Vārttikas and the author of the Prātiśākhya is the same person or not, and as it would, too, bear on the very appreciation of the

character of this Vaidika work, I will enter into it with greater detail than was required for the conclusions which follow from a comparison between the Rk Prātiśākhya and Pānini.

It is remarkable feature in the explanatory gloss which Professor Weber has attached to his edition of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya, that he evinces much pleasure in schooling Kātyāyana for introducing irrelevant matter into his work, now upbraiding him for his remarks on the common dialect, which ought not to have concerned him in a Sūtra of this kind, then finding fault with him for treating of words which do not occur in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, and which, likewise, ought not to have troubled him Professor Weber has given us too, in the beginning of his preface, a valuable collection of instances, which in his opinion prove either that Kātyāyana must have had before him a different version of the White Yajurveda than the one known to us, or that he has botched on to his Prātiśākhya a number of rules which, for his purpose, were out of place, or, to sum up in the words of the *Indische Studien*, already referred to, that Kātyāyana shows neither skill nor practice in his treatment of the matter edited and commented upon by Professor Weber But what would the latter think if Kātyāyana applied this very reproach to him? if he told Professor Weber that he did not even understand the character of the Prātiśākhya which he was editing and subjecting to all this learned criticism?

Let me, then, take the place of Kātyāyana, and maintain for him, that he is not only the very same Kātyāyana who wrote the Vārttikas to Pānini, but that his Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya has the double aim of being a Vaidika treatise as well as of containing *criticisms on Pānini* And let me, therefore, tell Professor Weber that since there is abundant proof of this view in Kātyāyana's Vaidika work, all his handsome epithets are put out of court And this, I hold, will also settle the question why we meet with so many Sūtras in Kātyāyana which are identical with those of Pānini; for we shall presently see that this identity is merely an apparent one, and, in reality, no identity at all

I will take this point up first, and show that Kātyāyana merely repeated the words of Pānini in order to attach his critical notes to them, just as I sometimes literally repeated the words of Professor Weber himself, merely for the purpose of improving on him

Pānini says (I 1, 60) *adarsanam lopah* "This is not distinct enough," I hear *Kātyāyana* say hence he writes (I 141) *varnasyādarsanam lopah* —Pānini gives the definition (I 2, 29 30) *uchchair udāttah* and *nichair anudāttah* "So far so good," I suppose Kātyāyana to say, "but you give the necessary complement of these two rules in the words (I 2, 31) '*samāhārah svaritah*', I object to this definition, for the *svarita* would better have been defined thus, " *ubhayavān svaritah* (K I 108–110) —P I 2, 32 *tasyādita udāttam ardha hrasvam*, but K I 126 *tasyādita udāttam svarārdhamātram* —P VIII 4, 67, 66 *nodātta-svaritodayam* (with the quotation of a dissent on the part of Gārgya, Kāśyapa, and Gālava), *udāttād anudāttasya svaritah* The former rule is approved of by Kātyāyana, who repeats it literally, but the latter he words thus *udāttāch chānudāttam svaritam* (IV 140, 134) —P I 1, 8 *mukha-nāsikā-vachano nunāsikah*, but K I 75 *mukhānunāsikā-karano'nunāsikah* —P 1 1, 9 *tulyāsya-prayatnam savarnam* "Would it not be clearer," we hear Kātyāyana say, "to give this definition thus (K I 43) *samāna-sthāna-karanāsya-prayatnah savarnah*" P VI 1, 84 *ekah pūrva-parayoh*, but K IV 49 *athaikam uttarach cha* —P I 1, 66 *tasminniti nirdishte pūrvasya* "This rule I adopt,' Kātyayana probably thought, (I 134) "but for your next rule (I 1, 67), *tasmād ity uttarasya*, I prefer the clearer wording" (I 135) *tasmād ity uttarasyādeh*, " and your *shashthi sthāneyogā* (1, 1, 49), evidently a rule which you ought to have put with those two preceding Paribhāshā rules which are its complement, instead of separating it from them by seventeen other rules, I place it, therefore, immediately after these" (I 136)

I will not add more instances of the same kind, they have all been carefully collected by Professor Weber, but

he is far from perceiving that the identity between the language of both authors is merely an apparent one, and that the additional words of Kātyāyana, either in the same Sūtra or in one immediately following, but intimately connected with it, are so many criticisms on Pānini, which are even more prominent by the repetition of a certain amount of Pānini's words For to assume, even without any of the further proofs which I shall adduce, that Kātyāyana first delivered his clearer and better Sūtras, and that Pānini hobbled after him with his imperfect ones, is not very probable

The following synopsis of rules is an extract from those I have collected for the purpose of determining whether it could be a matter of accident that the Prātiśākhya Sūtras of Kātyāyana are, to a considerable extent, nothing but Vārttikas to Pānini

Pānini writes (VIII 2, 87), *"om abhyādāne,"* which rule proves that in his time *om* was not confined to Vaidika use only; but Kātyāyana writes (I 18 and 19), *'omkāram vedeshu"* and *"athakāram bhāshyeshu* No doubt if Kātyāyana had not written with a direct glance at Pānini, this latter rule would be out of place, but in this combination its origin becomes intelligible P says (VIII 1, 46), *"ehi manye prahāse lrt* Though this rule does not treat of the accent of *manye*, it nevertheless would follow from other rules of Pānini, that *manye* is *ādyudātta* in its combination with *ehi* This inference is emphatically corrected by K 2, 15 *manye padapūrvam sarvatra* Professor Weber, *it is true, says that this word sarvatra*—which embodies the *emphasis* of the censure of Kātyāyana —is meaningless once more, no doubt, Kātyāyana has bungled through "want of practice and skill" How much Pānini's rules VIII 1, 19 and 72, *āmantritasya cha,* and *āmantritam pūrvam avidyamānavat,* are the torment of commentators, may be seen from many instances in Sāyana's Commentary on the Rgveda K improves them considerably by II 17 and 18 *pada-pūrvam āmantritam anānārthe pādādau* and *tenānantarā shahshtyekapadavat* —K. writes II 22 *bhūtir ādyudattam* this rule again rouses the critical indignation of Professer Weber "Why, ' he exclaims, " is this word singled out (by Kātyāyana) ? Assuredly,

it is not the single *ktin* formation in the V S ' My answer is because Kātyāyana had studied Pānini, and Professor Weber, it is clear, has not, for Pānini says, III 3, 96, that *bhūti* is *antodātta* in the Veda, and Kātyāyana therefore singled this word out with the decided intention of stating that in the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā Pānini s rule would be erroneous This instance, I hold, moreover, is one of those which add some weight to the proof I have already given, that Pānini did not know, and therefore preceded, the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā —K says II 48, *devatā-dvandvāni chānāmantritāni*, and his words are a distinct criticism on P VI 2, 141, *devatā dvandve cha* —In rule VIII 3, 36 Pānini teaches that *Visarjaniya* may remain such (or, as the Sūtra expresses itself, on account of previous Sūtras, may become *Visarjaniya*), before sibilants, or may become assimilated to the following sibilant But he committed the venial offence of not stating that this latter alternative rests on the authority of Śākatāyana, and the former on that of Śākalya Could Kātyāyana, therefore, forego the opportunity of writing (III 8) *pratyaya-savarnam mudi Śākatāyanah,* and (III 9), *avikāram Śākalyah sashaseshu*' ?—In VI 1, 134 Pānini gives a comprehensive rule on the elision of the final *s* in regard to the Vaidika use of the nominative of *tad* "No,' says Kātyāyana (III 14), "in the V S this elision occurs before vowels only in two instances *sa oshādhimayoh*" — K (III 22) says *āvir nir ida idāvā vasatir varivah* and thus criticises the imperfection of P 's rule VIII 3, 54, *idāyā vā* —In III 27, *adhvano rajaso rshah sprsas patau,* he shows the clumsiness of P 's rule VIII 3, 52, *patau cha bahulam,* in III 30, *parāvavasāne* the imperfection of P 's VIII-3, 51, *pañchamyāh parāvadhvarthe,* in III 55, *bhāvibhyah sah sham samānapade,* that of P 's VIII, 3, 59, *ādesa-pratyayayoh* —In the Sūtras III 56 and 57, Kātyāyana teaches that the intervention of *anusvāra, k* and *r* do not *prevent s from becoming sh if this change would have to* take place otherwise "These rules," says Professor Weber, "have no business here, for Samhitā and Pada text agree in this respect, and these rules are quite general grammatical rules," and in support of this argument he quotes Uvata,

who also points out the superfluity The latter consoles us for it, it is true, by the remark that a man should not complain if he found honey though he intended only to fetch fuel, or a fish though his object were to fetch water, or fruits though he went out merely to pluck flowers But as Professor Weber is not so easily consoled, and not so leniently disposed towards Kātyāyana as Uvata is, I may tell him that these rules are levelled against Pānini's rules VIII 3, 57 and 58, which omit to include *r* At II. 55, *dvandvam chendrasomapūnam pūshāgnivāyushu*, Professor Weber discharges a witticism "None of the compounds" (referred to in the Sūtra), he says, 'occur in the V S or the Śat Br How is that to be explained ? Did our Homer nod when he composed this rule? or did he have before him passages of the V S which it no longer contains [*Professor Weber* probably meant to say, *'which was not the V S we now possess'*]? or is the text of our Sūtra corrupt, and have we to read another word for *soma ?*" I will try to relieve his anxiety by expressing the belief that this Sūtra and the next, II 56, are criticisms on Pānini's general rule VI 2, 141, and on his special rule VI 2, 142 —The rule of Pānini VIII 3, 107, *suñah*, is criticised in three Sūtras of Kātyāyana III 59, 60, 61, *okārāt su* , *och chāprktāt*, and *abheścha*

The Vārttika 3 to III 3, 108 says *varṇāt kārah* , K I 37, *kārena cha* , both are identical in their contents, and complete Pānini's rule III 3, 108 The same remark applies to the Vārttika 4 to P III 3, 108, *rād iphah*, and to K I 40, *ra ephena cha*, in reference to the same rule of Pānini —K III 38, *aharpatau repham*, points out an omission in P VIII 2, 70 the same criticism is conveyed by the Vārttika 2 to this Sūtra of Pānini, *aharādinām patyādishu*,—K III 12, *lung mudi jitpare* fills up a blank in P VIII 3, 36, *vā śari* , and likewise a Vārttika on this Sūtra to the same effect, *vā sarprakarane kharpare lopah* —P 's rule VI 3, 109, *pṛshodarādini yathopadishtam*, is criticised by K III 41 and 42, *ukāram dur de* and *nāśe cha*, as well as by a Vārttika to the former rule which has the same contents *duro dāśanāśadabha-*

dhyeshūtvam vaktavyam uttarapadādes cha shtutvam —A Vārttika to the same rule of P, *shasha utvam datrdasasūttarapadādeh shtutvam cha*, is identical in contents with K III 46, *shad dāsadantayoh samkhyāvayorthavoscha* both are criticisms on P VI 3, 109—The first Vārttika to III 2, 49 (improperly marked, like the two others, in the Calcutta edition, as if these Vārttikas did not occur in the Mahābhāshya), *dārāvāhano nnantyasya cha tah sañjñāyām*, is similar in contents with K III 47, *ta āghād anādambarāt* both complete P III, 2, 49, *āsishi hanah* — The important omission in P's Sūtra VIII 4, 1, *rashābhyān no nah samānapade*, is, with almost a literal reference to these words, criticised by K's III 83, *rsharebhyo nakāro nakāram samānapade* and by his Vārttika to the former rule, *rashābhyām natva rkāra grahanam*

I need not increase the foregoing quotations by comparison of the contents of whole chapters of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya with the analogous contents of whole chapters in Pānini For, though the result would be exactly the same as it has been in the case of our comparison between the *Rk-Prātisākhya* and Pānini s work, even the isolated Sūtras which I have contrasted in these quotations sufficiently show that Pānini could never have laid his Grammar open to such numerous criticisms as he has done, if the work of Kātyāyana had been composed before his own My synopsis, moreover, shows that many rules of Kātyāyana become utterly inexplicable in his Prātiśākhya work *unless they be judged in their intimate connection with the Grammar of Pānini* And as it is simply ridiculous to assume that " Homer constantly nodded " in writing an elaborate work, which evidences considerable skill and practice in the art of arranging the matter of which he treats, there is no other conclusion left than that the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana had the twofold aim which I have indicated above *

There might, however, remain a doubt as to whether Kātyāyana first wrote his Prātiśākhyas or his Vārttikas to Pānini Two reasons induce me to think that his Prātiśākhya

* Vide p 218, line 30 *supra*

preceded his Vārttikas In the first place, because the contrary assumption would lead to the very improbable inference that a scholar like Kātyāyana, who has given such abundant proof of his thorough knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, left a considerable number of Pānini's rules without those emendations which, as we must now admit, are embodied in his Prātiśākhya work If we made a supposition of this kind, we should imply by it that he belongs to that class of authors who present their writings in hurried and immature state, and, upon an after thought, make their apology in an appendix or an additional book If we assume, on the other hand, that he first wrote his Prātiśākhya Sūtras, which neither imposed upon him the task, nor gave him an opportunity, of making a thorough review of Pānini, we can understand that they might have seduced him now and then into allowing himself to be carried away by the critical tendency which he afterwards fully developed in his Vārttikas, and we can then, too, understand why these Vārttikas treat merely of those Sūtras of Pānini which were not included in his former work

My second reason for this view is derived from a comparison between such of his Sūtras and such of his Vārttikas as are closely related to one another For if we examine the contents and the wording of either we cannot fail to perceive *that some of Kātyāyana's Vārttikas show an improvement on* some of his Sūtras, and we may infer that they were given on account of this very improvement Thus the Vārttika to VIII 3, 36, quoted before, contains the word *sā*, which is not in the Sūtra III 12, the Vārttika *duro, &c*, to VI 3, 109 embraces more formations than the Sūtras III 41 and 42, the Vārttikas 1-3 to III 2, 49 do not contain, it is true, the word *ādambara* alluded to in III 47 — perhaps because it was already contained in this Sūtra— but increase considerably the contents of this rule, the Vārttika 2 to VIII 2, 70 treats of a whole Gana, while the Sūtra III 38 merely names its heading word, and so on Nor could we forego such a comparison on the ground that there is a difference of purpose in the *Sūtras which are attached to the Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, and in the Vārttikas, which are connected with Pānini,—that,

consequently, in improvement of the Vārttikas on the Prātiśākhya need not to tell on the chronological relation between both For we have seen that Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya does *not* strictly confine itself to the language of his Samhitā or even to that of the Vedas in general Already the instances given before would suffice to bear out this fact, in the appreciation of which I so entirely differ from Professor Weber's views and a striking instance of this kind is afforded by Kātyāyana's Sūtra III 42, quoted before It treats of a case entirely irrelevant for the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, this case is taken up again and enlarged upon in a Vārttika to VI 3, 109, and there is no reason why the additions made in this Vārttika might not have been entitled with equal right to a place amongst Kātyāyana's Sūtras, as Sūtra III 42 itself Their not standing there shows my mind that this Vārttika is later than this rule of the Prātiśākhya work

It will readily be seen that I have arrived at the result of the priority of Pānini's work to the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana, in entire independence of all the assistance which I might have derived from my previous arguments I have hitherto abstained from availing myself of their aid, because an inference must gain in strength if it be able to show that two entirely distinct lines of argument necessarily lead to the same goal Such is the case with question before us For if we now appeal, once more, to the important information which Patañjali supplied, viz, that the "*anubandhas* of former grammarians have no grammatical effect in the work of Pānini" in other words, if a grammarian uses *anubandhas* employed by Pānini in the same manner as he did, his work must have been written after Pānini's work,—we need only point to the *pratyāhāra* '*ting*, in Kātyāyana's Sūtra I 27, in order to be relieved from any doubt that Pānini's grammar is prior to the Sūtra of Kātyāyana That Kātyāyana added in his Sūtras other technical terms to those of Pānini, cannot be a matter of surprise, indeed, it is even less remarkable than it would be under ordinary circumstances if we consider that he made—

either as inventor or *as borrowing from older* grammarians — such additions to the terminology of Pānini in his very Vārttikas, where one would think there was the least necessity *for them*,—where, for instance, he might have easily done without such new terms as *sit, pit, jit, jhit, ghu,* in the sense in which he uses them [229]

Thus far my *literary* argument on the chronological relation between Pānini and the Prātiśākhya works The *historical* proof, that only the work of Pānini, but *Pānini himself, preceded, by at least two generations, the author of oldest Prātiśākhya, requires, in the first place,* the remark *that* by *the* latter designation I mean the Prātiśākhya of the Rgveda hymns

Since Professor Weber, in his introduction to his edition of the Vājasaneyi - Prātiśākhya has given proofs that this work as well as the Atharvaveda-Prātiśākhya—and I *infer too,* that of the Taittirīya-Samhitā—are more recent than the Rk-Prātiśākhya, and since these reasons are conclusive to my mind, I need not, by the addition of other proof to that which he has afforded us on this point, weaken the great pleasure I feel, in being able, for once in a way, to coincide with him *in his views*

It is necessary, however, that I should first touch in a few words on the question of the authorship of this Rk-Prātiśākhya It is adverted to in the first verse of this work, in a passage which contains all the information we possess on this point. The passage in question runs thus "After having adored Brahmā, Śaunaka expressed the characteristic feature of the Rg-veda verses"

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229 Vārttika 1 to Pānini I 1, 68 सित्तद्विशेषाणां वृक्षाद्यर्थम्, Vārttika 2 पित्पर्यायवचनस्य च स्वाद्यर्थम्, *Vārttika 3* जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम्, Vārttika 4 झित्तस्य च तद्विशेषाणां च मत्स्याद्यर्थम् —In his Kārikā to VII 1, 21 (compare note 114) Kātyāyana uses the term घु in the sense of उत्तरपद, as results *from the commentary of* Patañjali —Kārikā औडाघौ etc —Patañjali औङाघाविति वक्तव्यम् । किमिदमघाविति । अनुत्तरपद इति etc —The same term घु occurs in Patañjali's Kārikā to VI, 4, 149 (see note 121) , घौ न्लोपोऽनुपदित्यत्र *etc , when* Kaiyyata observes घुशब्देनोत्तरपदं पूर्वाचार्यप्रसिद्धमुच्यते ।

Now, as it is not unusual in Sanskrit writings for the author to introduce himself in the commencement of his work by giving his name, and speaking of himself in the third person, this verse alone would not justify us in looking upon the words quoted as *necessarily* containing a mere report of Śaunaka's having delivered certain rules which another later author brought into the shape of the Rk-Prātiśākhya as we now find it But it must be admitted, also, that it does not absolutely compel us to ascribe this work to Śaunaka himself It leaves us free to interpret its sense according to the conclusions which must be derived from the contents of the work itself

These contents have already required us to establish the priority of Pāṇini's Grammar to this Prātiśākhya work If, then, we find that Pāṇini speaks of Śaunaka as of an ancient authority,[230] while there is no evidence to show that the Śaunaka named in both works is not the same personage, there is from the point of view of my former '*literary*' argument a certainty that Śaunaka was *not* the author of the Prātiśākhya here named [231] This inference, however, it must be admitted, is only entitled to be mentioned thus at the beginning of the *historical* argument, in so far as it may *afterwards* strengthen and corroborate it, but not, if it had to be used in order to premise the conclusions which will have to be drawn

Another preliminary remark, also, must be devoted to the sweeping assertion of Professor Weber, already quoted, which is to this effect, that "sameness of names can never prove the identity of the persons" who bear these names It is true he qualifies this *dictum* by adding after "names," "like Kātyāyana," but, even with this restriction, I cannot convince

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230 IV 3, 105 पुराणप्रोक्तेषु ब्राह्मणकल्पेषु 106 शौनकादिभ्यश्छन्दसि Compare also page 163

231 This is the view, too, of *Uvata*, the commentator on this Prātiśākhya He says that Śaunaka's name is mentioned for the sake of remembering him नामग्रहणं स्मरणार्थम् । See Mr Regnier's edition of the Rk-Prat in the Journal Asiatique, vol VII (1856), p 183

myself that literary criticism gains in strength by carrying Pyrrhonism beyond the confines of common sense. If great celebrity attaches to a name in certain portions of Sanskrit literature, and if the same name re-occurs in other and *kindred* portions of this same literature, I believe we are not only free, but compelled, to infer that the personage bearing this name in both such places is the same personage, unless there be particular and *good* reasons which would induce us to arrive at a contrary conclusion. I thus hold that a critic has no right to obtrude his doubts upon us until he has given good and substantial reasons for them.

After this expression of dissent from the critical principles of Professor Weber, I may now recall the fact I have mentioned on a previous occasion (pp 86-87), that there is a grammatical work, in a hundred thousand Ślokas, called *Sangraha,* whose author is *Vyādi* or *Vyāli*. I know of no other grammatical work bearing this name *Sangraha,* nor of any other celebrated grammarian named *Vyādi*. Both names, however, are not unfrequently met with in the grammatical literature. *Vyādi* is quoted several times in the *Rk-Prātisākhya,*[232] and there is no valid reason for doubting that he is there the same person as the author of the *Sangraha*. This same work and its author are sometimes alluded to in the illustrations which the commentators give of the Sūtras to Pānini or the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana,[233] and both, indeed, as I shall show here-after, appear to have stood in a close relation to the Mahābhāshya of Patañjali. We are, however, only concerned here with one instance with which Patañjali illustrates the second Vārttika of Pānini's rule II 3, 66.

It is this: *"beautiful indeed is Dākshāyana's creation of the Sangraha'*.[234]

232 Rk-P III, 14 17, VI, 12, XIII, 12 15. See Mr Regnier's *Index des noms propres* to his edition of the Rk-Prātisākhya, s v Vyāli.

233 Patañjali's commentary on v 6 (of the Calcutta edition) to IV. 2, 60 gives the instances मत्रवेद । सर्वतन्त्र । मवार्तिक । ममङ्ग्रह, or the Kāśikā to VI 3, 79 समङ्ग्रह व्याकरणमधीते ।

234 This instance follows another which says "beautiful indeed is

From it we learn, then, in connection with the information we already possess of the proper name of the author of the Sangraha, that Vyādi and Dākshāyana are one and the same grammatical authority Dākshāyana, however, is not only a descendant of *Daksha* but of *Dākshi* also,[235] and of the latter, at least in the third generation, while he may possibly have held a far more distant place in the lineage of this personage who is so often named in the ancient literature For Pānini, who defines the term *yuvan* as the son of a grandson or of a more remote degree in the lineage of a family chief,[236] gives a rule in reference to this term, which the principal commentators illustrate by the name of *Dakshāyana* [237]

Pānini's creation of (his) Sūtra "—Vārttika 2 to II 3, 66 शेषे विभाषा —Patañjali शोभना खलु पाणिने सूत्रस्य कृति । शोभना खलु दाक्षायणस्य सङ्ग्रहस्य कृति ।

235 Pānini, IV 1, 95 अत इञ् —Kātyāyana इञो वृद्धावृद्धाभ्या फिञ्फिनौ विप्रतिषेधेन —Patañjali इञो वृद्धावृद्धाभ्या फिञ्फिनौ भवत विप्रतिषेधेन । इञोऽवकाश । दाक्षि etc —Kāsikā दक्षस्यापत्य दाक्षि ।

236 Pānini, IV 1, 162 अपत्य पौत्रप्रभृति गोत्रम्, 163 जीवति तु वंश्ये युवा, 164 भ्रातरि च ज्यायसि, 165 वान्यस्मिन्सपिण्डे स्थविरतरे जीवति ।

237 IV 1, 101 · यञिञोश्च This Sūtra has no direct commentary by Patañjali and I shall therefore first quote the Kāsikā on it यञन्तादिञन्ताच्चापत्ये फक्प्रत्ययो भवति । गार्ग्यायण । वात्स्यायन ॥ इञन्तात् । दाक्षायण । प्लाक्षायण । द्वीपादनुसमुद्र यञ् (IV 3, 10) । (IV 2, 80) सुतङ्गमादिभ्य श्चिञित्यतो न भवति ॥ गोत्रग्रहणेन यञिञौ विशेष्येते । तदन्ताद्यून्येवाय प्रत्यय (comp IV 1, 94) —But there is no occasion for doubting the genuineness of this Sūtra on account of there being no Bhāshya to it (compare note 139), for Patañjali refers to it in his comment on the fifth Paribhāshā (in the Calc. ed) to I 1, 72 and has also, amongst others, the instance दाक्षायण, viz (ed Ballantyne, p 795), Paribhāshā प्रत्ययग्रहणे चापञ्चम्या । प्रत्ययग्रहणञ्च अपञ्चम्या प्रयोजनम् । यञिञो फग्भवति । गार्ग्यायण वात्स्यायन । परमगार्ग्यायण परमवात्स्यायन । दाक्षायण । परमदाक्षायण etc —That Dākshāyana is the *yuvan*, not the *son* of Dākshī is sufficiently clear from the Kāsikā itself, since it refers to IV 1, 94 For this reason it also gives as an instance of a *yuvan* to I 2, 66, besides गार्ग्यायण and वात्स्यायन (omitted in the Calc ed), the word दाक्षायण —Patañjali contents himself with the instance गार्ग्यायण , but it commences its counter-instance to II 4, 58

If we now turn to Pānini himself, we have it on the authority of Patañjali that his mother bore the name of *Dākshī* [238] And *Dākshi*, again, is, on the faith of all commentators on a rule of Pānini, the female family head of the progeny of Daksha, standing in the same relationship to Daksha as the male family chief Dākshi, she is, in other words, the oldest sister *(Vrddhā)* of the latter personage [239] Vyādi, therefore, was a *near relative of Pānini*, and Pānini must have preceded him by *at least two generations*

Now since the Rk-Prātiśakhya quotes Vyādi, as we have seen, on several occasions, and since the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is more recent than this work, I must leave it to the reader to determine how many generations must, in all probability, have separated Pānini from the author of the Rk-

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in this way अग्निजोरिति किम् । दाक्षेरपत्यं युवा दाक्षायण We must, consequently, consider it an inaccuracy when the same Kāsikā gives its counter-instance to II 4, 60 in these words प्राचामिति किम् । दाक्षि पिता । दाक्षायण· पुत्र । The Calcutta edition continues it, and Dr Boehtlingk, of course, reprints it without a single remark In short, whenever we open his discreditable reprint, we understand perfectly well why he writes in his preface, p xxxviii "The Calcutta edition is very correct, so much so that only on the very rarest occasions have I had an opportunity of preferring the readings of the Manuscripts"

238 Kārikā to I 1, 20 सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिने etc

239 Pānini, VI 4, 148 यस्येति च —Patañjali इवर्णान्तस्येति किमुदाहरण हे दाक्ष्या दाक्षेय । हे दाक्षि इति यदि लोपो न स्यात् etc —Kaiyyata - इवर्[न्त]स्येति । हे दाक्षाति । दाक्षिशब्दादितो मनुष्यजातेरिति (MS हे दाक्षेनिदिक्षिश००) (IV 1, 65) ङीपि कृते तस्य सम्बुद्धौ ह्रस्वे कृते etc —IV 1, 65 इतो मनुष्यजाते —Kāsikā दाक्षी . IV 1, 94 गोत्राद्यून्यस्त्रियाम् — Kāsikā अस्त्रियामिति किम् । दाक्षी — I 2, 66 स्त्री पुंवच्च (where स्त्री implies in reference to the preceding Sūtra वृद्धा स्त्री, i e. the eldest daughter of a grandson, or a further descendant, considered as the female head of the family) —Kāsikā वृद्धो यूनेति (I 2, 65) च सर्वम् । स्त्री वृद्धा यूना सह वचने शिष्यते । तल्लक्षणश्चेदेव विशेषो भवति । पुस एवास्या (thus MS 829, MS. 2440 एवास्या) कार्यं भवति । स्त्र्यर्थं पुमर्थवद्भवति । गार्गी च गार्ग्यायणश्च गार्ग्यौ । वात्स्यी च वात्स्यायनश्च वात्स्यौ । दाक्षी च दाक्षायणश्च दाक्ष्यौ (thus MS 2440, MS. 829 दाक्षी)

Prātiśākhya on the one hand, and from the author of the Vājasaneyi-Prātiśākhya and the Vārttikas on the other

After his statement, which, I fear, is entirely fatal to a great many chronological assumptions which have hitherto been regarded as fully established, *and to the critical and linguistic results which have been built on these assumptions*, it is not necessary — but it will nevertheless be interesting — to see that modern and ancient grammatical authorities contain additional testimony to the conclusion I have here arrived at

When explaining the uncritical condition of the Paribhāshā collections, I pointed out that if they were looked upon as an indivisible whole, there could be no doubt that they must be later than Pānini,—since one of them uses the word *Pāniniya* I pointed out, too, that the compilers of these collections, Vaidyanātha, for instance, must have taken this view of their chronological relation to Pānini Now at the end of the *Laghu-paribhāshāvrtti* we read that "some ascribe the composition of all the *paribhāshās* to the Muni *Vyādi* [240] They must consequently have considered him as posterior to Pānini

I will at once, however, ascend to the author of the Great Commentary In illustrating the first Vārttika to Pānini's rule VI 2, 36, Patañjali writes down the following compound Āpiśala-Pāniniya–Vyadiya–Gautamiyah [241] It tells its own tale it names first the disciples of *Āpisali*— of whom we know, through Pānini himself, that he preceded him,— then those of *Pānini*, afterwards those of *Vyādi*, and ultimately those of *Gautama* There can be no doubt that we have here a sequence of grammarians who wrote one after the other, but, if any doubt still existed, it would be dispelled by the grammatical properties of the compound itself, for a Vārttika to II 2, 34, teaches that — unless there be reasons to prevent it — the name

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240 Laghu-paribhāsha vrtti इद भर्तृहरिवचनम्। केचित्तु व्यारयानत (the first Paribhāshā) इत्यादिपरिभाषा व्याडिमुनिविरचिता इत्याहु ।

241 Pānini, VI 2, 36 आचार्योपसर्जनश्चान्तेवासी — Kātyāyana : आचार्योपसर्जनेऽनेकस्यापि पूर्वपदत्वात्स देह —Patañjali, आचार्योपसर्जनेऽनेकस्यापि पदस्य पूर्वपदत्वात्सन्देहो भवति। आपिशलपाणिनीयव्याडीयगौतमीया ।

of the more important part must come first in a *Dvandva* compound, and for a similar reason other Vārttikas teach that, for instance, in forming such a compound of the name of the earliest season in the year must precede that of a subsequent one, or in compounding the names of castes, they must follow one another in their natural order, or in making a *Dvandva* of the names of two brothers, the name of the older has precedence of the name of the younger [242] But as none of the grammatical reasons taught by Pānini in previous rules would compel the component parts of the compound alleged to assume another order than that which they have, we can only interpret their sequence in the manner I have stated [243]

The descent from the height of the Prātiśākhyas to the level plain of the Phitsūtras would almost seem to require an explanation Before I give it, however, I will refer to Professor Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature, and state its opinion on the relation of these Sūtras to Pānini. It is contained in the following words [244]

"As to Śāntana's Phitsūtras, we know with less certainty to what period they belong A knowledge of them is not pre-

242 Pānini, II 2, 34 · अल्पाच्तरम् —Vārttika 3 (of the Calc ed) अभ्यर्हितञ्च ।—Patañjali : अभ्यर्हितं पूर्वं निपततीति वक्तव्यम् । मातापितरौ श्रद्धामेधे — Vārttika 2 (of the Calc ed) ऋतुनक्षत्राणामानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणाम् — Patañjali, ऋतुनक्षत्राणामानुपूर्व्येण समानाक्षराणां पूर्वनिपातो वक्तव्यः । शिशिरवसन्तौ - Vārttika 5 (of the Calc ed) वर्णानामानुपूर्व्येण —Patañjali वर्णानाञ्चानुपूर्व्येण पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । ब्राह्मणक्षत्रियविट्शूद्राः —Vārttika 6 (of the Calc ed) भ्रातुश्च ज्यायसः —Patañjali भ्रातुश्च ज्यायसः पूर्वनिपातो भवतीति वक्तव्यम् । युधिष्ठिरार्जुनौ ।

243 Such a reason would be, for instance, if one part of the compound belonged to the words technically called घि (I 4 7—9), for in such a case the base घि would have precedence of a base ending in अ (compare II 2, 32) On this account the names of the three grammarians, Śākalya Gārgya, and Vyādi, form in the Rk-Prātiśākhya, XIII 12, the *dvandva* · व्याडिशाकल्यगार्ग्याः ।

244 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 152 [=Chowkhambā Edn p 134

supposed by Pāṇini, and the grammatical terms used by Śāntana are different from those employed by Pāṇini,—a fact from which Professor Boehtlingk has ingeniously concluded that Śāntana must have belonged to the eastern school of grammarians As, however, these Sūtras treat only of the accent, and the accent is used in the Vaidika language only, the subject of Śāntana's work would lead us to suppose that he was anterior to Pāṇini, though it would be unsafe to draw any further conclusion from this "

Once more I am unable to assent to the arguments of my learned predecessor on this subject If the knowledge of a work, as he admits, is not presupposed by Pāṇini, it would seem to follow that such a work is not anterior but posterior to him, since it is scarcely probable that he could have ignored the information it contains Nor has Professor Müller given any evidence to show that the contents of the Phitsūtras are restricted to the Vaidika language only On the contrary, the great bulk of the words treated of in these Sūtras belongs with equal right, and, in some respect, with much greater right, to the classical language, in preference to that of the Vaidika hymns or Brāhmanas And as no word can be pronounced without an accent, it is not intelligible why such a treatise should not be of as great importance for the student who recites the Mahābhārata as for the priest who reads the Ṛgveda Poetry Pāṇini himself has, indeed, embraced in his rules on accentuation a great number of words no trace of which occurs in the Samhitās. But even if the statement made by Professor Müller were unobjectionable, why should it follow that an author who — and because he — writes on a Vaidika subject, must, or is even likely to be anterior to an author who treats of the classical literature? And Pāṇini moreover treated of both

As little as I can adopt, on these premises, the conclusions Prof. Muller draws, so little can I join in the compliments he pays to the ingenuity of Dr Böehtlingk[245] For since

245 As in the case of the Calcutta edition of Pāṇini, and of the Uṇādi-Sūtras, the edition of the Phiṭsūtras also was entrusted by Dr

Pāṇini himself, as I have shown before, makes use of the terms *prathamā*, *dvitīyā*, *tṛtīyā*, *chaturthī*, etc, and of *aung*, *āng* (in the sense of an instrumental in the singular), [246] all of which are terms of the eastern grammarians, and, as everyone knows that Pāṇini did not belong to them, I can see no ingenuity in assigning Śāntana to this school on the sole ground of his having used terms which differ from those of Pāṇini, especially when these terms have no grammatical influence whatever, like the *anubandhas* of Pāṇini;

Böehtlingk to his compositor, who reprinted the text of these Sūtras from the Calcutta edition of the Siddhānta kaumudī —The difficulties offered by these Sūtras are not inconsiderable, and might have yielded good materials for many remarks Dr Boehtlingk's Commentary on them *consists of 32 lines, which contain the substance of about 12, nearly all of* which are insignificant Even his very small Index to the Sūtras is imperfect, for it omits the Sutra यथेति पादान्ते which he mistook for a part of the commentary on IV 15, and the Sūtra उपसर्गाश्चाभिवर्जम् which also he has reprinted as if it were a portion of the commentary on IV 12, though he himself is doubtful as to its proper position there He professes, too, to have given an Index of the contents, "for those who mean to pursue the subject" But as one of the latter, I had to make a thorough Index of all the technical symbols in the Sūtras, and also of a good number of real words which occur in the commentary and text, but which, in accordance with his notion of an Index, or through his usual inaccuracy, are omitted in his Index, *e g* अशुक II 13, अदिति IV 15, अभि IV, 13, अग्रा I 2, आन्त्र I, 4, आथर्वण IV 11, इष्टका III 19, ऋतु II 22, कृकलास II 22, कृत्तिका I 21, कृत्रिम II 8, and very many more Of compounds he has never enabled the reader to find the latter part, and such general terms as उदात्त, स्वरित, अनुदात्त, अक्षर etc, which are as indispensable for a student as the individual words themselves, are of course, also omitted And all these remarks are suggested by the *edition* of a text which comprises no more than 88 Sūtras It is, of course, needless for me to add that the trouble of consulting or using a very valuable commentary on these Sutras, the *Phitsutra-vritti*, does not enter into the plan of an editor whose activity in editing grammatical Sanskrit texts only consists in putting the printed Calcutta works into different type

246 See notes 197, 220, and Pāṇini, VII 3, 105

and are not distinctly defined in the commentary as terms of the eastern grammarians [247]

The real reasons for this assumption, which I share in, must, in my opinion, be sought for elsewhere, and as they are connected with the question of the chronological relation of the Phitsūtras to Pāṇini, I will first explain why I speak of them after the Prātiśākhya works

It is because they stand on the same linguistic ground as the latter writings, and because it was safer to survey this ground in the wider field of the Prātiśākhya literature than in the narrow precincts of the Sūtras of Śāntana This having been done, we need now merely recall the results obtained

We have seen that the Prātiśākhyas represent the mechanic treatment of the language, unlike Pāṇini's method, which is organic and shows the growth and life of the language he spoke The same is the case in these Phitsūtras Whereas Pāṇini endeavours to explain the accent of words by connecting it with the properties of the word, — whereas he seeks for organic *laws* in the accents of uncompounded or compounded words and, only reluctantly, as it were, abandons this path whenever he is unable to assign a general reason for his rules, — the Phitsūtras, like the Prātiśākhyas, deal merely with the ready-made word,[248] and attach to it those mechanical rules

247 Dr Böhtlingk enumerates the terms which induced him to draw the inference alluded to by Müller that Śāntana belonged to the eastern grammarians and he adds also the Sūtras where they occur, viz अष् II 4 19, 26 नप् II 3, फिष् I 1, यमन्वन् II 18, शिट II 6, रिस्फ II 16, ह्य् II 25 Amongst these, रिस्फ् does not occur in the text of the Sūtras of Bhaṭṭoji, but is a *various reading* mentionned by him in his commentary, which reports on this *various reading* that it is a term of the eastern grammarians The text of his Sūtras has लुप् instead of रिस्फ् As to the *other quotations given by Dr Böehtlingk, no one tells us that these terms* are terms of the eastern grammarians There was, consequently, not a particle of evidence to draw from *them* that inference which he so positively draws It is a mere guess the probable correctness of which is corroborated, but by such evidence as never occurred to him

248 Phiṭsūtra, I 1 फिषोऽन्त उदात्त —Phitsūtra-vṛtti अर्थवद्धातुर-

which bewilder and confuse, but must have been well adapted for an intellectual condition fitted for admiring the Prātiśākhya works They belong, in my opinion, like the Prātiśākhyas, not to the flourishing times of Hindu antiquity, but to its decadence

In the second place, we have seen that on the ground which is common to both, the Prātiśākhyas possess a far greater amount of linguistic material than Pānini does, and we had to conclude that Pānini could on no account have ignored the knowledge they conveyed, had they existed before his time Precisely the same remark applies to the little treatise of Śāntana, for, brief as it is, it is richer in many respects than the *analogous* chapter which Pānini devoted to the same subject, and it would be inconceivable that Pānini should bring forward his rules, so much more incomplete in *substance* than the Phiṭsūtras, had they been the precursor of his work.

But, thirdly, we were compelled to admit that, at least, one of the Prātiśākhyas, that of Kātyāyana, was written with the direct intention of completing and criticising Pānini, and I may here observe, that Professor Weber has, with very good reasons, assigned to this grammarian a place within the Eastern school These features, too, characterise the tract of Śāntana

Some of his rules are delivered with the evident purpose of criticising Pānini, and we meet on one occasion with the remark of the commentator that the *eastern grammarians* point out the difference between a rule of Pānini and one of Śāntana, when the context in which this passage occurs leaves no doubt that they meant a criticism on Pānini And from this remark alone I should conclude that Śāntana was one of their school, while, from all these reasons combined, I draw the inference that he must have written after Pānini

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प्रत्यये (comp Pān I 2, 45) फिट्। कृत्तद्धितसमासाश्चेति (comp Pān I 2 46) —Compare also the end of note 255

I will give some proof to substantiate this view, and to show, moreover, that there are grammatical authorities in India who expressly imply the view here taken of the posteriority of these Sūtras to Pānini

According to Pānini's rule, VI 1, 213, a word *ibhya* would have the *udātta* on the first syllable, Bhattojidikshita, in his comment on the *Phitsūtras*, quotes this rule in order to show that Śāntana gave his Sūtra I 5, with a view of stating that Pānini's rule would not apply to this word [249] He quotes the same rule of Pānini for a similar purpose when he comments on I 18,[250] for, according to this rule, *arya* is not *udātta* on the first, but on the last syllable, and also in his comment on IV 8, for, according to this Sūtra, the words *tilya, śikhya (martya) dhānya* and *kanyā*, are not *udātta* on the first, but *svarita* on the last syllable [251] On the rule I 7, Bhattoji reports that, in the opinion of certain grammarians, Śāntana gave it in order to "*kill* Pānini's rule VI 2, 2 [252] Śāntana's rule I 23, Bhattoji says, contravenes Pānini's rule VI 1, 197 [253] And it is the same grammarian who, when explaining that *saha* as a part of Śāntana s rule IV 13, is *udātta* on the last syllable, reports "The eastern grammarians inform us that *saha* in PĀNINI'S rule VI 3, 78, is *udātta* on the

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249 Pānini, VI 1, 213 यतोऽनाव —Phitsūtra, I, 5 भ्यपूर्वस्य ाविषयस्य ।—Bhattoji विषयग्रहण किम् । इभ्या यतोऽनाव इत्याद्युदात्त इभ्यशब्द ।

250 Phitsūtra, I 18 अर्यस्य स्वाम्याख्या चेत् —Bhattoji यान्तस्यान्त्या त्पूर्वमिति (III 13) । यतोऽनाव इति वाद्युदात्ते प्राप्ते वचनम् (where the word प्राप्ते sufficiently indicates Bhattoji's view of the chronological relation between Śāntana and Pānini The same rule is given by Kātyāyana in his Vārttika to Pānini, III 1, 103)

251 Phitsūtra, IV 8 तिल्यशिक्यकाश्मर्यधान्यकन्याराजन्यमनुष्याणामन्त —Bhattoji स्वरित स्यात् । तिलानां भवन क्षेत्र तिल्यम् । यतोऽनाव इति प्राप्ते — The Phitsūtra-vrtti reads this Sūtra तिल्यशिक्यमर्त्यकाश्मर्यधान्य०० ।

252 Phitsūtra, I 7 द्विष्ठवत्सरतिशत्थान्तानाम् —Bhattoji संवत्सर । अन्ययपूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरो (comp Pān VI 2, 2) ऽत्र बाधन इत्याहु ।

253 Phitsūtra, I 23 ज्येष्ठकनिष्ठयोर्वयसि —Bhattoji अन्त उदात्त स्यात् । ज्येष्ठ आह चमसा । इह नित्त्वाद्युदात्त एव (comp Pān VI, 1, 197)

first syllable," and he adds the advice *"think on that"*[254] But I find no evidence in the arguments of Dr Böehtlingk, as regards the relation of Śāntana to the eastern grammarians, of his having followed the advice of Bhaṭṭojidīkshita

Of equal importance with these observations of Bhattoji, is a passage in the notes of Nāgojibhaṭṭa on Kaiyyaṭa, when *the latter accompanies the gloss of Patañjali to Kātyāyana's* Vārttika 6, to Pānini VI 1, 158, with his own remarks For Nāgojibhaṭṭa, after having observed that a rule of Pānini would contain a fault when compared with the standard of the Phiṭsūtras, pointedly winds up with the following words "But, on the other hand, *these Phitsūtras, when considered in reference to Pānini, are as if they were made to-day"* 265

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254 Phitsūtra, IV 14 (not 13) एवादीनामन्त —Bhattoji एवमादीनामिति पाठान्तरम्। एव। एवम्। नूनम्। सह। ते पुत्रसूरिभि सह। षष्ठस्य तृतीये सहस्य स इति (Pān VI 3, 78) प्रकरणे सहशब्द आद्युदात्त इति प्राञ्च। तच्चिन्त्यम् —The statement of the Prāñchas mentioned by Bhaṭṭojidīkshita, is that of Patañjali in his comment on VI 3, 78, v 1 viz आद्युदात्त निपातनं करिष्यते, and Kaiyyata in referring to Phiṭsūtra IV 12, observes निपाता आद्युदात्ता इति सहशब्द आद्युदात्त But this reference of Kaiyyaṭa by no means admits of the conclusion that he looked upon Pānini's rule as more recent than this Phitsūtra, for this rule is not concerned with the accent of सह, it is Patañjali who alludes to it, and Kaiyyaṭa comments, in the words alleged, on Patañjali, not on Pānini

255, Vārttika 6 (of the Calc ed) to VI 1, 158 प्रकृतिप्रत्ययो स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वादप्रसिद्धि —Patañjali प्रकृतिप्रत्ययो स्वरस्य सावकाशत्वादप्रसिद्धि स्यात्। प्रकृतिस्वरस्यावकाश। यत्रानुदात्तप्रत्यय। पचति। पठति॥ प्रत्यय स्वरस्यावकाश। यत्रानुदात्ता प्रकृति समत्वम्। सिमत्वम्। इहोभय प्राप्नोति। कर्तव्यम्। तैत्तिरीयम्। विप्रतिषेधात्प्रत्ययस्वरो भविष्यति। नैव विप्रतिषेधे परमित्युच्यते (I 4, 2) न पर प्रत्ययस्वर। नैष दोष। इष्टवाची परशब्द। विप्रतिषेधे पर यदिष्ट तद्भवतीति —Vārttika 7 (of the Calc ed) विप्रतिषेधात्प्रत्ययस्वर इति चेत्साम्यादिषु चित्करणम्। — Patañjali विप्रतिषेधात्प्रत्ययस्वर इति चेत्साम्यादिषु चित्करणं कर्तव्या। पुत्रकाम्यति। गोपायति। ऋतीयते। नैष दोष। प्रकृतिस्वरोऽत्र बाधको भविष्यति। प्रकृतिस्वरे प्रत्ययस्वराभाव। कर्तव्यम्। तैत्तिरीयम्—Kaiyyata, on the preceding passages विप्रतिषेधादिति। पूर्वविप्रतिषेधादित्यर्थ। काम्यादय इति। काम्यचश्चित्करण प्रत्याख्यात तत्कर्तव्यमेव —Nāgojibhatta सम त्वमित्यत्र स्वत्वसमसिमेत्यनुच्चानीति (Phiṭsūtra, IV 10) प्रकृतिरनुदात्ता। तित्तिरि शकुनीनां

It is clear, therefore, that the best Hindu grammarians, too, looked upon these Sūtras not only as not anterior to Pānini, but as quite recent, when compared with his work

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On *Yāska*, Professor Muller expresses himself thus [256]

"There are some discussions in the beginning of the Nirukta which are of the highest interest with regard to etymology While in Greece the notions of one of her greatest thinkers,

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च लघुपूर्वमिति (Phitsūtra, II 21) मध्योदात्त । फिट्स्वरोऽपि पाष्ठ एवेति तैत्तिरीयेऽपि दोष । यद्वा फिट्सूत्राणि पाणिन्यपेक्षया आधुनिककर्तृकाणीति परत्व बोध्यम् — The Phitsūtra II 21, referred to by Nāgojibhatta, is read differently in Bhattoji's text from that of the Vrtti I subjoin both readings with their commentary in order to illustrate at the same time the nature of the latter commentary as compared with that of Bhattoji The latter reads शकुनानाञ्च लघुपूर्वम्, and comments पूर्वं लघूदात्त स्यात् । कुक्कुट । तित्तिरि —The Phitsūtra vrtti reads शकुनीनाञ्च लघुपूर्वाणाम् । and comments लघुपूर्वा येषां शकुनिवाचिनां लघावन्ते द्वयोश्च बहुशो गुरुरुदात्तो भवति । इक्ष्वाकु । इन्द्रजाम् । कपोत ॥ शकुनानामिति किम् । वराह ॥ लघुपूर्वाणामिति किम् । कुक्कुट । तित्तिरि । खञ्जरीट —I may quote here a passage from Sāyana's Commentary on Rgveda I 1, 1, in order to obviate a misunderstanding of it With regard to the accent of the word अग्नि he writes गार्ग्यस्य मतेऽग्निशब्दस्याखण्डप्रातिपदिकत्वात्फिषोऽन्त उदात्त इत्यन्तोदात्तत्वम् । These words need not mean that Gārgya, the predecessor of Pānini, deducts from Phitsūtra I 1, the accent of अग्नि, but they may — and, I conclude, *do* — mean "since, according to the opinion of Gārgya, *agni* is an indivisible base (*i e* a base which must not be analysed, compare note 248), its accent is the *udātta* on the last syllable, agreeably to Phitsūtra I 1 —The last reference, therefore, would belong to Sāyana, not to Gārgya, and the only inference we might be allowed to draw from the words of Sāyana would be, that Gārgya looked upon *agni* as an Unnādi-formation (compare p 187), and, perhaps —but not necessarily,—that already in his time there existed a rule on accentuation similar in *purport* to that of the Phitsūtra alleged It is not admissible, therefore, to adduce this passage in proof that, in Sāyana's opinion the Phitsūtras were known to Gārgya

256 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 163 [= Chowkhambā Edn page 144]

as expressed in the Cratylus, represent the very infancy of etymological science, the Brāhmanas of India had treated some of the vital problems of etymology with the utmost sobriety. In the Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana we find, besides the philosophical division of speech into nouns, verbs, prepositions, and particles, another divison of a purely grammatical nature and *expressed in the most strictly technical* language '*Verbs* with their conjugational terminations, *Nouns*, derived from verbs by means of *Krt* suffixes, *Nouns*, derived from nouns by meane of *taddhita*-suffixes, *and four kinds of compounds,—thess* constitute language' [Vājas Prāt I 27]

"In the Nirukta this division is no longer considered sufficient A new problem has been started, one of the most important *problems in the philosophy of language, whether all nouns* are derived from verbs? No one would deny that certain nouns, or the majority of nouns were derived from verbs The early grammarians of India were fully agreed that *kartr*, a doer, was derived from *kr*, to do, *pāchaka*, a cook, from *pach*, to cook *But did the same apply to all words?* Śākatāyana, an ancient grammarian and philosopher, answered the question boldly in the affirmative, and he became the founder of a large school, called the *Nairuktas* (or Etymo logists), who made the verbal origin of all words the leading principle of all their researches"[257]

It is sufficiently clear from the preceding words that Professor Muller considers Yāska as more recent than Kātyāyana, and since he himself admits (see above p 211) "that there is nothing in the style of the Prātiśākhya composed by Kātyāyana that could be used as a tenable argument why Kātyāyana, the author of the Prātiśākhya, should not be the same as Kātyāyana, the contemporary and critic of Pānini," he must also consider the author of the Nirukta as subsequent to Pānini.

To refute his view on the relative position of Kātyāyana and Yāska, we need now merely point to the facts with which

257 In the continuation of this passage Professor Müller gives the statement similar to that which is contained above, on page 187.

we are already familiar Muller's reason for Yāska's posteriority of Kātyāyana is founded, as we see, on the assumption that the problem of the derivability or non-derivability of *all* nouns from verbs had not yet been proposed in the time of Kātyāyana But whence does he know this? The Prātiśākhya of Kātyāyana is no sufficient testimony for establishing this theory When Kātyāyana there says that nouns are either nouns derived from verbs, or nouns derived from nouns,— either *krt* or *taddhita* derivatives,— he has already said too much in a work of this kind, which has nothing to do with the origin of words, and which alludes to this and other matter, foreign to a Prātiśākhya itself, only *because*, and *in so far as* it concerns its *other purpose*, viz that of criticising Pānini Whether or not therefore it dealt with a problem such as that of which Muller is speaking is merely a matter of chance

But this problem itself, as we have seen, is epitomised in the term *Unnādi* A grammarian who uses this term shows at the same time that he is cognisant of that division between the old grammarians which Yāska describes For whichever side he espouse he has expressed by the term *unnādi*, that there are *krt*-derivatives which are of an exceptional kind and which are looked upon by some as being, strictly speaking, no derivatives at all Now, I have quoted several instances which prove that Kātyāyana dealt with the question of Unnādi words Hence he *was* aware of that problem discussed in the Nirukta, it was *not* "a new problem" to him, and all the inferences that may or may not be built on its absence in the Vājasaneyi - Prātiśākhya become invalidated at once

But the knowledge possessed by Pānini, of this problem itself would, of course, not prove anything as to his priority or posteriority to Yāska, who speaks of it It leaves this question just where we find it, and we must seek for other evidence to settle it

Such, I hold, is afforded by the fact that Pānini knows the name of Yāska, for he teaches the formation

of this word and heads a *Gana* with it [258] And as we know at present of but one real Yāska in the whole ancient literature, a doubt as to the identity of the author of the Nirukta and the family chief adduced by Pānini, would have first to be supported with plausible arguments before it could be assented to

A second and equally strong reason is, in my *belief*, afforded by the test I have established above, on the ground of the grammatical *sanjñās* which occur in Pānini's work

Amongst these terms there is one especially which allows us to judge of the relative position of Yāska and Pānini, viz, the term *upasarga*, prefix or preposition Pānini employs it in many Sūtras, he does not define it, it must consequently have been in use before he wrote *Yāska*, however, enters fully into the notion expressed by it, as we may conclude from the following words of his Nirukta —[259]

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258 Pānini, II 4, 63 यास्कादिभ्यो गोत्रे ।

259 Nirukta, I 3 (according to the edition of Professor Roth) न निर्बद्धा उपसर्गा अर्थान्निराहुरिति शाकटायनो नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्त्युच्चावचा पदार्था भवन्तीति गार्ग्यस्तद्य एषु पदार्थ प्राहुरिमे तं नामाख्यातयोरर्थविकरणम् । आ इत्यर्वागर्थे प्र-परेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यमभीत्याभिमुख्यं प्रातिलोम्यमति सु इत्यभिपूजितार्थे निर्दुरित्येतयो प्रातिलोम्यं न्यवेति विनिग्रहार्थीया उदित्येतयो प्रातिलोम्यं समित्येकीभावं व्यपेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यमन्विति सादृश्यापरभावमपीति संसर्गमुपेत्युपजनं परीति सर्वतोभावमधीत्युपरिभावमैश्वर्यं वैवमुच्चावचानर्थान्प्राहुस्त उपेक्षितव्या —Of the commentary of Durga on this passage I subjoin here only those passages which are required for a justification of my translation, and of the instances added to the text of Yāska (MS E I H, 206) नामा० । तुशब्दोऽवधारणार्थ । नामाख्यातयोरेव योऽर्थ कर्म तत्रैव विशेष कञ्चिदुपसृज्य द्योतयन्ति । स एष नामाख्यातयोरेवार्थविशेष उपसर्गसंयोगे सति व्यज्यते ॥ उच्चा भवन्तीति । वचा (*sic*) पदार्था भवन्तीति गार्ग्य । उच्चाश्च । वचाश्च (*sic*) उच्चावचा । बहुप्रकारा इत्यर्थ । एषामुपसर्गपदानामर्था पदार्था भवन्ति । वियुक्तानामपि नामाख्याताभ्यामिति गार्ग्य । आचार्यो मन्यत इति वाक्यशेष । एकैको ह्येषां प्रादीनां नामाख्यातवियोगेऽप्यनेकार्थ इत्यभिप्राय ॥ ॥ तद्य एषु पदार्थ प्राहुरिमे तम् । तदेतदुपपन्नं भवति । य एषूपसर्गेष्वनेकप्रकारोऽर्थ इति प्राहुरेव तमिम उपसर्गपदविशेषा पृथगपि सन्त क पुनर सावित्युच्यते । नामाख्यातयोरर्थविकरणम् ॥ ॥ आ इत्यर्वागर्थे । तद्यथा । आ पर्वतादिति । अर्वागिति गम्यते ॥ ..प्रपरेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यम् । प्रपरावित्येतावुपसर्गावितरेतरस्यैवार्थोऽस्य

" Śākaṭāyana says that 'the prepositions when detached (from noun or verb) do not distinctly express a sense," but Gārgya maintains that 'they illustrate the action which is the sense expressed by a noun or verb (in modifying it), and that their sense is various (even when they are detached from a noun or verb)' Now they express (even in their isolated condition) that sense which inheres in them, it is this sense which modifies the sense of a noun or verb The preposition *ā* expresses the sense of limit (*e g* *upto* the mountain), *pra* and *parā* express the reverse of *ā* (*e g* gone *forth* or *away*), *abhi*, the sense of towards (*e g* gone *towards*—in a friendly sense), *prati*, the reverse of *abhi* (*e g* gone *against*), *ati* and *su*, excellence (*e g* having *much* wealth, an *excellent* Brāhmana), *nir* and *dur*, the reverse of these two (*e g* having *no* wealth, a *bad* Brāhmana), *ni* and *ava*, downwardness (*e g* he takes *down*), *ud*, the reverse of these two (*e g* he takes *up*), *sam*, junction (*e g* he takes *together*), *vi* and *apa*, the reverse of *sam* (*e g* he takes *away*), *anu*, similarity or being after (*e g* having a *similar* appearance, he goes *after*), *api*, co-existence (*e g* let it be a *drop* of butter, a *drop* of honey),[260] *upa*, excess (*e g* he is born *again*), *pari*, surrounding (*e g*

प्रातिलोम्यमाहतु । प्रगत । परागत ॥ अभीत्याभिमुख्यमाह । अभिगत ॥ प्रतीत्येनस्यैवाभे प्रातिलोम्यमाह । प्रतिगत इति ॥ अति सु इत्येतावभिपूजितार्थे वर्तेते । अतिधन । सुब्राह्मण इति ॥ निर्दुरित्येतयो प्रातिलोम्यम् । निर्धन दुर्ब्राह्मण इति ॥ न्यवेति विनिग्रहार्थीयौ । निगृह्णात्यवगृह्णाति ॥ उदित्ययमेक एव द्वयो प्रातिलोम्यमाह । उद्गृह्णाति ॥ समित्येकीभावमर्थमाह सङ्गृह्णाति ॥ व्यपेत्येतस्य प्रातिलोम्यमाहतु । विगृह्णात्यपगृह्णातीति ॥ अन्विति सादृश्यापरभावमाह । अनुरूपमस्येति सादृश्यम् । अनुगच्छतीत्यपरभावन् ॥ अपीति संसर्गमाह । सर्पिषोऽपि स्यात् । मधुनोऽपि स्यात् ॥ उपेत्युपजनन् । उपजनमाधिक्यम् । उपजायते ॥ परीति सर्वतोभावमाह । परिधापयतीति ॥ अधीत्युपरिभावमाह । ऐश्वर्यं वा । अधितिष्ठति । अधिपतिरिति । आह । नामाख्यातयोस्तु कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्तीत्युक्तम् । अत्र नाम कर्मोपसंयोगद्योतका भवन्तीति । एव न गृह्यन्ते । उपसर्गा क्रियायोग इति (Pān I 4, 59) प्रसिद्धो ह्युपसर्गाणां क्रियान्तरेण योगो न नाम्न उपसर्गा हि क्रियाङ्गत्वेनैव नामान्याश्रयन्तीति ।

260 It seems to me doubtful whether संसर्ग implies the sense which is illustrated by the instance of Durga, without his words, which clearly refer to Patañjali's comment on Pānini, I. 4, 96, I should have rendered संसर्ग by *union*, and thought of an instance like अपिनह्यति

he puts *round*), *adhi*, being above and superiority (*e g* he stands *over*, a *supreme* lord) In this manner they express various senses and these have to be considered "

This passage records, as we see, besides the definition of Yāska, the opinions of Śākatāyana and of Gārgya , it is silent on Pānini Yet how much more complete and scientific is *his* treatment of the prepositions ! Durga, the commentator of Yāska, feels this defect in Yāska, for at the end of his gloss he says " *upasargas* can only be joined to a verb, not to a noun , it is therefore only through the mediation of the former that they can ascend also to the latter " (*viz* in so far as nouns are derived from verbal roots)

Pānini teaches that the first and general category to which prepositions belong, is that of *nipātas* or particles he then *continues, that they are upasargas when they are joined to* "verbal action" (*i e* to a verb) , *gatis*, if the verbal roots to which they are attached become developed into a noun , and that they are *karmapravachaniyas* if they are detached and govern a noun [261] Of such a distinction there is no trace in the Nirukta, which stops, as we see, at the speculations of Śākatāyana and Gārgya, both predecessors of Pānini Nor can the meanings which Yāska assigns to the prepositions, so far as completeness is concerned, be compared to those we meet with in the rules of Pānini *Abhi*, for instance, has with him not only the sense mentioned by Yāska, but that of "towards, by (severally), with regard to ," *ati*, that of "excellence and transgression ," *apa*, that of "exception ," *anu*, that of "in consequence of, connected with, less than, towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of ,' *prati*, the sense of "towards, by (severally), with regard to, to the share of, instead of, in return of ," *pari*, the sense of *prati*, except in the two last meanings, and that of an "expletive ," *adhi*, that of "superiority and of an expletive "[262]

261 Pānini, I 4, 58 प्रादय , 59 उपसर्गा क्रियायोगे, 60 गतिश्च, 83 कर्मप्रवचनीया

262 Compare I 4, 84—97

It seems impossible, therefore, to assume that Yāska could have known the classes of *upasarga* as defined by Pāṇini, and their meanings as enumerated by him when he wrote the words before quoted But not knowing the grammar of Pāṇini, is, in the case of Yāska, tantamount to having preceded it

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Though Yāska be older than Pāṇini, and Pāṇini older than Kātyāyana, there still remains the mystery as to the era of Pāṇini No work of the ancient literature, within my knowledge, gives us the means of penetrating it But as the remotest date of Hindu antiquity, which may be called a real date, is that of *Buddha s* death, it must be of interest to know whether Pāṇini is likely to have lived before or after this event

Not only is the name of *Śākyamuni*, or Śākya, never adverted to in the Sūtra of Pāṇini,[263] but there is another fact connected with this name which is still more remarkable

The great schism which divided ancient India into two hostile creeds, centres in the notion which each entertained of the nature of eternal bliss The Brāhmanic Hindus hope that their soul will ultimately become united with the universal spirit, *which, in the language of the Upanishads, is the neuter Brahman*, and, in that of the sects, the supreme deity, who takes the place of this philosophical and impersonal god And however indefinite this god *Brahman* may be, it is nevertheless to the mind of the Brāhmanic Hindu, an *entity*. The final salvation of a Buddhist *is entire non entity* This difference between the goal of both created that deep and irreconcileable antagonism which allowed of none of the compromise which was possible between all the shades and degrees of the Brāhmanic faith, from the most enlightened to the most degenerate The various expressions for eternal bliss in the Brāhmanic creed, like *apavarga, moksha, mukti, nihsreyasa*, all mean either "liberation from this earthly career" or the "absolute good ,' they therefore imply a condition of hope The absolute end of

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263 The formation शाक्य occurs in three *Ganas*, as a derivative from शक with यञ् in the *Gana* to IV 1 105, with ञ्य to IV 3, 92, but there it becomes doubtful, through the difference in the readings of the MSS , and as a derivation from शाक with ण्य in the *Gana* to IV 1, 151

a Buddhist is without hope, it is *nirvāna* or extinction This word means literally "*blown out*," but there is this difference, if I am not mistaken, between its use in the Brāhmanic and in the Buddhistic literature,—that, in the former, it is employed, like other past participles, in any of the three genders, whereas in the latter it occurs only in the neuter gender, and there, too, only in the sense of an abstract noun, in that of *extinction, i e*, absolute annihilation of the soul I have no instance at my command in which *nirvāna*, when used in the classical literature, implies any other sense than the sense "*blown out*," or a sense immediately connected with it Thus Patañjali, when illustrating the use of this past participle, gives the instances "the fire is *blown out* by the wind, the lamp is *blown out* by the wind," and Kaiyyata who, on the same occasion, observes that phrase, "the wind has ceased to blow," would not be expressed by "*nirvāno* vātah but by *nirvāto* vātah," corroborates the instances of Patañjali with one of his own "blowing out (has been effected) by the wind" But Pānini, who teaches the formation of this participle in rule VIII 2, 50, which has indirectly called forth all these instances, says "(the past participle of *vā* with prefix *nir* is) *nirvāna* (if the word means) '*free from wind*,' (or, 'not blowing, as wind')"[264]

This is the natural interpretation of Pānini's rule *Kātyāyana*, it is true, gives a Vārttika which corrects the word *avāte* into *avātabhidhāne* "(if it have) not the sense of wind (or of blowing)," yet it is very remarkable that Patañjali, in commenting on this Vārttika, does not interpret its words in his usual manner, but merely adds to them the instances I have just named, it is remarkable, too, that he introduces them with the observation "(this Vārttika is given in order to show)

264 VIII. 2, 50 निर्वाणोऽवाते — Katyayana अवाताभिधाने — Patañjali : अवाताभिधान इति वक्तव्यम् (these words have been mistaken for the Vārttika itself, in the Calcutta edition)। इहापि यथा स्यात्। निर्वाणोऽग्निर्वातेन। निर्वाण प्रदीपो वातेनेति—Kaiyyata अवाताभिधान इति। तेन निर्वातो वात इत्यत्रैव नत्वनिषेधो न तु भावे निष्ठायामिति निर्वाण वातेनेति भाव्यमिति वार्तिककारस्य दर्शनम्। अन्ये तु वातकर्तृके धात्वर्थे सर्वत्र निषेधमिच्छन्ति। निर्वातो वात। निर्वात वातेनेति। निर्वाण प्रदीपो वातेनेत्यत्र तु वात करणमिति प्रतिषेधाभाव।

that (*nirvāna*) is *also* or is emphatically used in the following instances" Still he has no instance whatever for the sense stated by *Pānini*, and his word '*also*' or "emphatically,' does not appear to be justified by the criticism of Kātyāyana, which simply corrects the word *avāte* into *avātābhidhāne* without any additional remark

In short, my opinion on this Vārttika is analogous to that which I have expressed in previous instances The sense of *nirvāna*, "free from wind (or not blowing)," had become obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, who merely knew that sense of it which found its ulterior and special application in the *nirvāna* of the Buddhistic faith But since there is no logical link between this latter word and the *nirvāna*, "wind-still," of Pānini, and since it is not probable that he would have passed over in silence that sense of the word which finally became its only sense, I hold that this sense did not yet exist in his time in other words, that his silence affords a strong probability of his having preceded the origin of the Buddhistic creed

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The task I had proposed to myself would now seem to have reached its natural close for the present, yet if, after this brief and imperfect attempt to do justice to one of the most difficult questions of Sanskrit literature, I were now to take leave of Pānini, even temporarily, without devoting a special word to Patañjali, I should fail in gratitude to this great teacher, who has supplied us with nearly all the materials for this discussion and its results

"At what time,' says Professor Muller,[265] "the Mahābhāshya was first composed, it is impossible to say Patañjali, the author of the Great Commentary, is sometimes identified with Pingala, and on this view, as Pingala is called the younger brother, or at least the descendant of Pānini, it might be supposed that the original composition of the Mahābhāshya belonged to the third century But the identity of Pingala and Patañjali is far from probable, and it would be rash to use it as a foundation for other calculations'

265 Ancient Sanskrit Literature p 244 [Chowkhamba Edn p 217]

This is the only date, the fixing of which is called "*impossible*," in Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature; and as it has hitherto been my fate to differ from this work in all its chronological views, I seem merely to follow a predestined necessity in looking upon the date of Patañjali as the only one which I should venture to *determine with anything like* certainty.

I do so, because Patañjali, as if foreseeing the conjectural date which some future Pandit would attach to his life, or the doubt that might lift him out of all historical reach, once took the opportunity of stating a period before which we must not *imagine him to have lived, while on another occasion he mentions* the time when he actually did live

"*If a thing,*" *says* Pānini, "*serves for a livelihood, but is* the not for sale" (it has not the affix *ka*) This rule Patañjali illustrates with the words "Śiva, Skanda, Viśākha," meaning the idols that represent these divinities and at the same time give a living to the men who possess them,— while they are not for sale And, "why ?" he asks "The *Mauryas* wanted gold, and therefore established religious festivities Good, (Pānini's rule) may apply to such (idols, as *they* sold), but as to idols which are hawked about (*by common people*) *for the sake of* such worship as brings an *immediate profit, their names will* have the affix *ka*" [266]

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266 V 3, 99 जीविकार्थे चापण्ये—Patañjali. अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति । शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत् । तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः सम्प्रतिपूजार्थाः । तासु भविष्यति —Kaiyyata यास्त्वेता इति । याः परिगृह्य गृहाद्गृहमटन्ति तास्वित्यर्थः । यास्तु विक्रीयन्ते तासु न भवति । शिवकादिवर्गीत्वेति Nagojibhatta मौर्या विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तस्तैरर्चाः कल्पिताः (MS 351 मौर्या विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाशिल्पवन्तस्तै** *sic*, MS 1200 मौर्या विक्रेतुं प्रतिमाः शिल्पवन्तस्तै** *sic*)। विक्रेतुमिति शेषोऽस्तासां पण्यत्वात्तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणप्रसङ्ग इति भावः । तत्र प्रत्ययश्रवणमिष्टमेवेति तदन्यसूत्रस्योदाहरणं दर्शयति । भवेदित्यादि । यास्त्वेता इति च । सम्प्रतिपूजार्था । सम्प्रतितन्निर्माणसमकालमेव पूजिता या ( ) पूजा आजीविकात्वेन तदर्था इत्यर्थस्तदाह । याः परिगृह्येति । यास्तु गृहे पूज्यन्ते शिष्टैस्तासु शिवभेदबुद्धे सत्त्वेन साहृदयबुद्ध्यभावेन प्रत्ययस्यैवाभावः । एवं चित्रेष्वपि द्रष्टव्यम् ।

Whether or not this interesting bit of history was given by Patañjali ironically, to show that even affixes are the obedient servants of kings, and must vanish before the idols which *they* sell, because they do not take the money at the same time that the bargain is made — as poor people do,— I know not But, at all events, he tells us distinctly by these words that he did not live before the first king of the Maurya dynasty who was Chandragupta, and who lived 315 B C And I believe, too, if we are to give a natural interpretation to his words, that he tells us, on the contrary, that he lived *after the last king* of this dynasty, or in other words later than 180 before Christ But he has even been good enough to relieve us from a possibility of this doubt when commenting on another rule of Pānini, or rather on a criticism attached to it by Kātyāyana

In Sūtra III 2 111, Pānini teaches that the imperfect must be used, when the speaker relates a past fact belonging to a time which precedes the present day Kātyāyana improves on this rule by observing that it is used, too, when the fact related is *out of sight notorious but could be seen by the person who uses the verb* And Patañjali again appends to this Vārttika the following instances and remark *"The Yavana besieged* (imperfect) *Ayodhyā* the *Yavana besieged* (imperfect) *the Mādhyamikas* Why does Kātyāyana say, *'out of sight ?'* (because in such an instance as) 'the sun rose' (the verb must be in the aorist) Why *'notorious ?'* (because in such an instance as) 'Devadatta made a mat (the verb must be in the preterite) Why does he say *but when the fact could be seen by the person who uses the verb ?"* (because in such an instance as) 'According to a legend Vāsudeva killed Kansa' (the verb must likewise be in the preterite)[267]

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267 III 2 111 अनद्यतने लङ् —Kātyāyana परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये —Patañjali परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः। अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्। अरुणद्यवनो माध्यमिकान्॥ परोक्ष इति किमर्थम्। उदगादादित्यः। लोकविज्ञात इति किमर्थम्। चकार कटं देवदत्तः॥ प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषय इति किमर्थम्। जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः —Kaiyyaṭa परोक्षे चेति। अननुभूतत्वात्परोक्षोऽपि प्रत्यक्षयोग्यतामात्राश्रयेण दर्शनविषय इति विरोधाभावः —Nāgojibhatta on these instances of Patañjali भाष्ये जघानेति किम्। स वधो हि नेदानीन्तनप्रयोक्तुर्दर्शन-

Hence he plainly informs us, and this is acknowledged also by Nāgojibhatta, that he lived at the time — though he was not on the spot — when *"the Yavana besieged Ayodhyā,"* and at the time when *"the Yavana besieged the Mādhyamikas"* For the very contrast which he marks between these and the other instances proves that he intended practically to impress his contemporaries with a *proper use of the imperfect tense*

Now the *Mādhyamikas* are the well known Buddhistic sect which was founded by *Nāgārjuna* [268] But here, it would seem, that at this early state we are already at a chronological standstill For the Northern Buddhists say that Nāgārjuna lived 400, and the Southern Buddhists that he lived 500, years after Buddha's death And again, while we believed that the researches of that admirable work of Professor Lassen had finally settled this latter date, and "for a last time,"—while we believed, in other words that it was 543 before Christ, Professor Muller seizes and shakes it once more and makes Buddha die 477 before Christ Were I to agree with the opinion which he has elsewhere expressed,[269] that " in the history of Indian

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योग्योऽपीत्यर्थं । अरुणदित्युदाहरणे तु तुल्यकाल प्रव(र्ते)न (इ)ति बोध्यम् —*That these* instances concern the moment at which Patañjali wrote them, is therefore certain, beyond all doubt But we obtain at the same time an insight *into the critical condition of the later commentaries on Pānini, when we* find, for instance, that the Kāsikā copies these instances, but without saying that they belong to Patañjali The same is the case in the present edition of Pānini On account of the importance of this passage of the Mahābhāshya, I will remind the reader that it is contained in the MS E I H No, 330, the only one I could consult The two MSS of the Kāsikā in the library of the E I H have instead of माध्यमिकान् a word मध्यमिकाम्, but since the latter is not only meaningless but grammatically wrong, there can be no doubt that the reading of the MS 330 is the only correct one

268 See *Burnouf's Introduction a l'histoire du Buddhism Indien*, Vol I p 359 Lassen's Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II p 1163 and the quotations there

269 Ancient Sanskrit Literature, p 243 [Chowkhamba Edn p 216]

literature, dates are mostly so precarious, that a confirmation, even within a century or two is not to be despised," I should be out of all my difficulties For since the difference stated as regards the life of Nāgārjuna would not amount to more than 166 years, it would fall within the alloted space But I am not so easily satisfied Dates in Sanskrit literature, as anywhere else, are either no dates at all — and then they are not so much as precarious — or they are dates, and then we must look closely at them

The doubt which Prof Muller has expressed in reference to the assumed date of Buddha's death, viz, 543 B C, are by no means mere vague and personal doubts On the contrary, they are embodied in an elaborate discussion, which not only proves a conscientious research, but is extremely valuable on account of the opportunity it gives of surveying the real difficulties of the question, and of forming one's own opinion, with greater safety and ease and, whether dissenting from him or not, one is happy to deal with his arguments

My objection to them may be summed up in the commencing and the closing words of his own investigation

" It has been usual, " he says in his Ancient Sanskrit Literature (p 264*), "to prefer the chronology of Ceylon, which places Buddha's death in 543 B C But the principal argument in favour of this date is extremely weak It is said that the fact of the Ceylonese era being used as an era for practical purposes speaks in favour of its correctness This may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Aśoka In historical times any era, however fabulous its beginning, will be practically useful, but no conclusion can be drawn from this, its later use, as to the correctness of its beginning As a conventional era, that of Ceylon may be retained, but until new evidence can be brought forward to substantiate the authenticity of the early history of Buddhism, as told by the Ceylonese priests, it would be rash to use the dates of the Southern Buddhists as a corrective standard for those of the Northern Buddhists or of the Brāhmanas "

* Chowkhamba Edn p 235

And, towards the close of his inquiry, he expresses himself thus (p 298*) —"At the time of Aśoka's inauguration, 218 *years had elapsed since the conventional date of the death of* Buddha Hence if we translate the language of Buddhist chronology into that of Greek chronology, Buddha was really supposed to have died 477 B C and not 543 B C Again, at the time of Chandragupta's accession, 162 years were believed to have elapsed since the conventional date of Buddha's death Hence Buddha was supposed to have died 315+162=477 B C"

In quoting these two passages, I show at once that Professor Muller attaches no faith to *the tradition which* concerns the date of Buddha's death, but that he attaches faith to that which places Aśoka 218, and Chandragupta 162, years after that event But if tradition is to be believed in one portion of the history connected with the rise and progress of the Buddhist faith, why not in another, and in all? The arguments which are good for the one case will equally apply to the other, and if tradition be wrong in fixing Buddha's death at 543 B C, we must also reject it when giving the dates 162 and 218, and the sum total will then have no quantities out of which it can be produced And this objection would seem to derive additional force from the very words of Professor Muller just quoted, for he says himself that the argument in favour of the date 543 B C, so *far as it is founded on the practical use made of* this date, "may be true with regard to the times after the reign of Aśoka" But 218 after Buddha's death, is the date of Aśoka himself, and 162 that of Chandragupta, who preceded that king Both, consequently, would, in Professor Muller's opinion, deserve the same amount of belief as the date of Buddha's death itself

The grounds on which Professor Muller differs from Professor Lassen have been fully discussed by him, as already observed, but as the essentials of this discussion lie in a nutshell, they admit of being here stated in reference to the question which actually concerns us

Both scholars assume — and so long as Greek chronology deserves any credit at all, they do so, *I hold*, without the

* Chowkhamba Edn p 267

possibility of a contradiction — that Chandragupta, who is Sandrocottus reigned 315 B C Buddhistic tradition, however, says that he lived 162 years after Buddha's death, which means that if this event took place 543 B C, he reigned 381 B C But since 315 must be right, and 381 must be wrong, either Buddha's death occurred 477 B C, or Chandragupta lived 66 years later than Hindu traditions allow him to live, *viz*, 288 years after 543 B C Lassen decides in favour of the latter alternative, no doubt, by saying to himself that since there is an error of 66 years, it was more likely committed by tradition in remembering the duration of the reign of kings who preceded Chandragupta, than in recording an event that was engrossing the national mind, and much more important of the national feeling and interest than an exact chronicle of by-gone, and some of them insignificant, kings Muller prefers the precise tradition of 162 years, and therefore arrives at 477 B C as the date of Buddha's death

Let us return, after this statement, to the events which Patañjali tells us occurred in his time, and confront them with the opinions of the two scholars named

If Nāgārjuna lived 400 years after Buddha's death, his date, according to Professor's Lassen s conclusion, would be 143,— or, if he lived 500 years after this event, 53 years B C Again, his date, according Professor Muller's conclusions, would be 77 B C, or 23 after Christ But I must mention, too, that Professor Lassen, on the ground occupied by him, supposes a further mistake of 66 years in the tradition which places Nāgārjuna 500 years after Buddha's death, and that he thus also advocates the date of the founder of the Mādhyamikas as 23 years after Christ [270] Now, since the sect which was founded by Nāgārjuna existed not only simultaneously with, but after, him, that event which was contemporaneous with Patañjali and the Mādhyamikas, *the siege of Ayodhyā by the Yavana'* must have occurred within or *below* the circle of these dates The latter alternative, however, is again checked by the date of Abhimanyu, who reigned about 60 years after Christ,

270 Indische Alterthumskunde, vol II p 412, 413

for we know from the chronicle of Kashmir that he introduced into his country the Commentary of Patañjali, which must consequently have been in existence during his reign

In other words, the extreme point within which this historical event must have fallen, are the years 143 before, and 60 after Christ, and as in the time of Abhimanyu the Great Commentary had already suffered much, according to the report of Rājatarangini, it is necessary to limit even the latter date by, at least, several years

Yet the word "*Yavana*" carries with it another corrective of this uncertainty According to the researches of Professor Lassen it is impossible to doubt that *within this period*, viz, between 143 before and 60 after Christ, this word Yavana can only apply to the Græco-Indian kings, nine of whom reigned from 160 to 85 B C [271] And if we examine the exploits of these kings, we find that there is but one of whom it can be assumed that he, in his conquests of Indian territory, came as far as Ayodhyā It is *Menandros*, of whom so early a writer as Strabo reports that he extended his conquests as far as the Jumna river, and of whom one coin has actually been found at Mathurā He reigned, according to Lassen's researches, more than twenty years, from about 144 B C [272]

If then this inference be correct, Patañjali must have *written his commentary* on the Vārttika to Pānini III 2, 111, between 140 and 120 B C, and this is the only date in the *ancient* literature of India which, in my belief, rests on more than mere hypothesis

But it has also the merit of giving that "new evidence" which Professor Müller requires for a corroboration of the chronology of Ceylon For none of the fluctuating dates I have mentioned will allow us to look upon Menandros and the Mādhyamikas as contemporaries, except the date 153, which was the extreme limit of the date of Nāgārjuna's life And since, on the basis of tradition, this date again becomes impossible,— unless we claim amongst those alleged, 543 for

271 Ibid vol II, p 322

272 Ibid vol II p 328

the time of Buddha's death, and 400 years for the succession of Nāgārjuna, — Patañjali's Great Commentary becomes invaluable also in this respect, and more especially to those who are concerned in Buddhist chronology

Of the lineage of Patañjali all the knowledge I possess is that the name of his mother was *Gonikā*[273] It occurs in the last words of Patañjali on a Kārikā to Pāṇini Of more importance, however, is the information he gives us of his having resided temporarily in *Kashmir*[274] for this circumstance throws some light on the interest which certain kings of this country took in the preservation of the Great Commentary

His birthplace must have been situated in the East of India, for he calls himself *Gonardiya*[275] and this word is given by the Kāśikā in order to exemplify names of places in the East Patañjali s birthplace had therefore the name of *Gonarda*[276]

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273 Patañjali, after quoting the Kārikās to I 4, 51 gives *his own opinion*, and concludes with these words (MS E I H No 171) उभयथा गोणिकापुत्र —Nāgojibhatta गोणिकापुत्रो भाष्यकार इत्याहु (thus MS E I H. 349, the MS 1208 गोणिकापु०)

274 III 2, 114 विभाषा साकाङ्क्षे —Patañjali किमुदाहरणम् । अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वत्स्याम । तत्र सक्तून्पास्याम । अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरानगच्छाम । तत्र सक्तूनपिबाम । भवेद । पूर्वं परमाकाङ्क्षतीति साकाङ्क्ष स्यात । पर तु कथ साकाङ्क्षम् । परमपि साकाङ्क्षम् । अस्त्यस्मिन्नाकाङ्क्षेत्यत साकाङ्क्षम् —Kātyāyana विभाषा साकाङ्क्षे सर्वत्र—Patañjali विभाषा साकाङ्क्षे सर्वत्रेति वक्तव्यम् । क सर्वत्र । यदि चायदि च ॥ यदि तावद । अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत्कश्मीरान्गमिष्याम । यत्कश्मीरानगच्छाम । यत्तत्रौदन भोक्ष्यामहे । यत्तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि ॥ अयदि । अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान्गमिष्याम । कश्मीरानगच्छाम । तत्रौदन भोक्ष्यामहे । तत्रौदनमभुञ्ज्महि ॥

275 Patañjali to I 1, 21, v 2 (of the Calcutta edition, p 412 ed Ballantyne) गोनर्दीयस्त्वाह etc —Kaiyyaṭa । भाष्यकारस्त्वाह etc — Nāgojibhaṭṭa गोनर्दीयपद व्याचष्टे । भाष्यकार इति —It is on this authority that the word *Gonardīya* has found a place amongst the epithets of Patañjali in Hemachandra's Glossary

276 The *Kāśikā to I 1, 75* एङ् प्राचा देशे, gives the instances एणीपचनीय । गोनर्दीय । भोजकटीय । गोनरीय (thus MS E I H 2440, the MS 829 which is generally more incorrect than the former, has the plurals instead of the singulars ° °या) Professor Lassen (Indische Alterthumskude, vol II, p 484) assumes a connection between Gonar-

But that he is one of the eastern grammarians is borne out also by other evidence Kaiyyaṭa calls him on several occasions *Āchāryadeśīya*[277] If we interpreted this word according to Pāṇini's rules V 3, 67 and 68, it would mean "an unaccomplished teacher," but as there is not the slightest reason for assuming that Kaiyyaṭa intended any irony or blame when he applied this epithet to Patañjali, it is necessary to render the word by the teacher "who belongs to the country of the Āchārya" Now, since Kaiyyaṭa also distinctly contrasts *āchārya*, as the author of the Vārttikas, with *āchāryadeśīya*, the latter epithet can only imply that Patañjali was a countryman of Kātyāyana Kātyāyana, however, as Professor Weber has shown by very good arguments, is one of the eastern school, Kaiyyaṭa, therefore, must have looked upon Patañjali also as belonging to it

Another proof is afforded by a passage in the comment of Bhaṭṭojidīkshita on the Phiṭsūtras which I have quoted above[278]

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dīya and Gonarda, the name of a king of Kashmir, but I believe that my explanation is supported by the whole evidence combined

277 For instance, Patañjali to VI 1, 158, v 1 (of the Calcutta edition) writes यदि पुनरयमधिकारो विज्ञायेत etc, and Kaiyyata introduces his comment on these words with आचार्यदेशीय आह यदि पुनरिति and so on, in a similar manner, on other occasions An instance, however, which will better bear out my conclusion, is afforded by the combined Vārttika Kārikā of Kātyāyana (see note 114), and the commentaries to V 2, 39 After the words of the Sūtra, Patañjali says किमर्थं परिमाण इत्युच्यते । न प्रमाण इति वर्तते । एवं तर्हि सिद्धे सति यत्परिमाणग्रहणं करोति तज्ज्ञापयत्याचार्यः । अन्यत्प्रमाणमन्यत्परिमाणमिति, then follows the first Vārttika (or first portion of the Kārikā of Kātyāyana) डावतावर्थवैशेष्यान्निर्देशः पृथगुच्यते, which again is followed by the further comment of Patañjali In reference to this passage Kaiyyata expresses himself in this way किमर्थमिति । प्रमाणपरिमाणशब्दयोरेकार्थत्वं मत्वा प्रश्नः । न प्रमाण इति वर्तत इति । काक्वा नञ् प्रयोगाद्वर्तत एवेत्यर्थः । अथवानेकार्थत्वान्निपातानां ननुशब्दस्यार्थे नशब्दो वर्तते । आचार्यदेशीय आह । एवं तर्हीति । आचार्य आह डावताविति etc He therefore contrasts *āchārya*, who is the author of the Vārttika डावतावर्थं°, with *āchāryadeśīya*, who is Patañjali

278 See page 318

For when this grammarian tells us that the *eastern* grammarians attribute the accent in question of *saha* to Pānini's rule VI 3, 78, we find that it is *Patañjali* himself who gives us this information and without any intimation of his having obtained it from other authorities

I conclude these few remarks on our great teacher with an account which *Bhartrhari* gives to the early history of the Mahābhāshya It is of considerable interest, in as much as we learn from it that there was a party of grammarians who preferred to it the Sangraha (of Vyādi), and still more so, as it informs us, that Patañjali's Commentary was founded on this great grammatical work of the relative of Pānini The passage in question occurs at the end of the second chapter of *Bhartrhari's Vākyapadīya*, and, in reference to the word *Bhāshya*, which immediately precedes it, makes the following statement [279]

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[279] The text of this passage belongs to the MS No 954 in the Library of the Home Government for India, which in a few days will have ceased to be the Library of the East India House It bears on its outer leaf the corrupt title वाक्यपदीव्याकरण, bu at the end of its three chapters the words इति श्रीमर्तृहरिकृते वाक्यपदीपे प्रथमकाण्ड (*sic*), द्वितीय काण्डम्, °तृतीय काण्ड —I call it Vākyapadīya, because, the MS in question being very incorrect I cannot give its reading any preference to the reading वाक्यपदीय by which this work is several times quoted in the portion of the Mahābhāshya edited by Dr Ballantyne For, the identity of both results from a comparison I have made between the passages quoted in this highly valuable edition and the MS before me It is right, however, to mention that the second chapter of the work concludes in this MS in the following manner भर्तृहरिकृते वाक्यप्रदीपे द्वितीय काण्डम् । समाप्ता वाक्यपरदापका, where the reading वाक्यपरदीपका, when corrected to °पिका, admits of a sense, but suggests also the conjecture that it may be corruption of वाक्यप्रदीपिका I now transcribe the passage in question literally in order to show the condition of the MS, and also to enable the reader to supply better conjectures than I may have made, but some conjectures I have been compelled to make in order to impart a meaning to a few very desperate lines These conjectures are added in [ ] After the words एवशेषेण निर्दैशो भाष्य एव प्रदर्शित, which are connected with the

"After Patañjali had obtained the aid of [*or* had come to] grammarians who had mastered the new sciences more or less [*literally* in their full extent and in their abridged form], and after he had acquired the *Sangraha* [of Vyādi], he, the Guru, well versed in the sacred sciences, connected all the original *nyāyas* in the Mahābhāshya But when it was discovered that this Commentary could not be fathomed on account of its depth, and that the minds of those who were not quite accomplished floated, as it were, on the surface in consequence of their levity, those grammarians who liked dry reasoning, Vaiji, Saubhava, and Haryaksha, who were partisans of the Sangraha, cut in pieces the book of the Rshi [Patañjali] That grammatical document [*or* manuscript of the Mahābhāshya], which was obtained from the pupils of Patañjali, then remained for some time preserved in one copy only amongst the inhabitants of the Dekhan Chandra, again and other grammarians, who went after the original of the Bhāshya, obtained this document from Parvata, and converted it into many books [*that is to say*, took many copies of it], and my Guru, who thoroughly knew the ways of logical discussion and his own Darśana, taught me the compendium of this grammatical work " [280]

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subject treated of in the second chapter, *Bhartrhari* continues प्रायेग मङ्क्षेपतुचीनच्यविद्यापरिग्रहान् [प्रायेण मङ्क्षेपनश्च नन्यविद्यापरिग्रहान्] सम्प्राप्य वैया-करणान् सङ्ग्रहे मुपागने [सम्भाप्य वैयाकरणान्सङ्ग्रहे समुपागते] कृने थ पानञ्जलिना गुरुणा नीर्थदर्शिना [कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना**] । सर्वेषा न्यायवीजानां महाभाष्ये निव धने [निबन्धने] । अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्योदुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात् [अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्] । तस्मिन्नकृतबुद्धीनां नैवावास्थितनिश्चय [नैवावस्थि*] । वैजिसौभवह यक्षे [*क्षै] शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभि । आर्षे विप्लाविते ग्रन्थे [ग्रन्थे] सङ्ग्रहप्रतिकञ्चुके [*कै] । य पानञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागम [य पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्योऽभ्यष्टो**] । कालेन दाक्षिणात्येषु ग्रथमात्रे [ग्रन्थ*] व्यवस्थित । पर्वतादागम लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानु सारिभि । स नीतो बहुशाखत्व च द्राचार्यादिभि [चन्द्रा**] पुन । न्यायप्रस्थानमार्गा स्तानभ्यस्य स्व [स्व] च दर्शनम् । प्रणीतो गुरुणास्माकमयमागमसङ्ग्रह [प्रणीतो गुरुणा स्माकमय**] The subsequent words, which conclude the second chapter, concern the subject-matter of the work, not the history of the Mahābhāshya

[280] This passage will now aid us also in a correct understanding of the interesting verse from the Rājataranginī, which has been quoted, but blight-

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No one, indeed, can be more alive than I am myself to the conviction of how much may be added, in the way of detail, to the facts I have adduced, for, however imperfect my present attempt and my own knowledge may be, I still could have largely increased the foregoing inquiry with materials taken from the Brāhmaṇa-, Upnishad-, and the philosophical literature I have not done more than allude to the contents of

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ed by Dr Boehtlingk in the version he gives of it (vol II p xv and xvi) This verse reads in the Calcutta edition of the latter work (I 176) चन्द्राचार्यादिभिर्लब्धादेशं तस्मात्तदागमम् । प्रवर्तितं महाभाष्यं स्वं च व्याकरणं कृतम् Mr Troyer, in his edition, substitutes for the latter words चन्द्रव्याकरणं कृतम् Both readings are alike good, for they convey the same sense, and the correction लब्ध्वादेशम् for लब्धादेशम्, as proposed by Dr Boehtlingk, is no doubt also good But the double mistake he has committed in this single verse consists first in giving to आगम the sense of 'coming, whereas the passage from the *Vākyapadīya* proves that it must there have the sense of "a written document or *manuscript*", and secondly, in arbitrarily assigning to the causal of प्रवृत् the sense of "*introducing*" in its European figurative sense which the causal of प्रवृत् never has The verse in question would therefore not mean, as Dr Böehtlingk translates it 'After the teacher Chandra and others had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order to come there (or to him), they introduced the Mahābhāshya and composed a grammar of their own' —but After Chandra and the other grammarians had received from him (the King Abhimanyu) the order, *they established a text of the Mahābhāshya, such as it could be established by means of his MS of this work* (*literally* they established a Mahābhāshya which possessed his — the King s — grammatical document, *or*, after they had received *from him the order and his MS they established the text of the Mahābhāshya*) and composed their own grammars " For we know now that Chandra and the other grammarians of King Abhimanyu obtained such as *āgama* or manuscript of the Mahābhāshya from Parvata, and according to the corresponding verse of the Rājataranginī, it becomes probable that this MS came into possession of Abhimanyu

Pāṇini's Grammar and I have scarcely hinted at the linguistic results which may be derived from a comparison between Kātyāyana and Patañjali, on the one side, and the recent grammatical literature (which is represented by the Kāśikā, the Siddhānta-kaumudī with its Praudha manoramā, and the commentators on the Dhātupāṭha and the artificial poetry), on the other For my *present object was merely to convey a sense* of the inherent difficulties of the questions I have been speaking of, and while tracing the outlines of my own results, to offer so much evidence as was strictly necessary for supporting them with substantial proof

Before, however, I add some words on the *practical object* I had in view in entering upon this investigation both justice and fairness require me to avow that the immediate *impulse* which led to the present attempt was due to Max Müller's Ancient Sanskrit Literature So great is my reluctance to the public discussion of literary questions, if such a discussion requires a considerable amount of controversy, and so averse am I to raising an edifice of my own, if, in order to do so, I am compelled to damage structures already in existence, that this feeling would in all probability have prevented me now, as it has done hitherto, from giving public expression to my views, had it not been for the importance I attach to Muller's work This work reached me, as already mentioned, when the first pages of this [Dissertation] were completed, and it was the new material it brought to light, and the systematic and finished form by which its author imparted to his theories a high degree of plausibility, which induced me to oppose to it the facts I have here made known and the results I have drawn for them

And, as everyone has his own way of paying compliments, this avowal is the compliment which *I* pay to Professor Muller's work For as I myself care but little for blame, and much less for praise, so long as I consider that I have fulfilled my duty, I could not but assume that he, too, would much prefer, to uninstructive panegyrics which anyone could inflict on him, such dissent as I have here expressed, as I can only lead either to confirmation of the opinions he has advanced,

or, by correcting them, to an attainment of that scientific truth for which both of us are earnestly labouring [251]

And now I shall speak my mind as to the necessity I felt for writing these pages in view of *the present critical position of Sanskrit philology*

The study of Sanskrit commenced, not with the beginning but the end of Sanskrit literature It could not have done otherwise, since it had to discover, as it were, the rudiments of the language itself, and even the most necessary meanings of the most necessary words We have all been thankful — and our gratitude will never suffer through forgetfulness — for the great advantage we have derived from an insight into the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyana, the Hitopadeśa, the Śakuntalā, through the labours of those great scholars, Sir William Jones, Schlegel, Bopp, and others, who are before the mind's eye of every Sanskritist But the time of pleasure had to give way to a time of more serious research The plays and fables are delightful in themselves, but they do not satisfy the great interests of Sanskrit philology Our attention is now engrossed, and rightly so, by the study of grammar, of philosophy, and, above all, of that literature of ancient India, which — very vaguely and, in some respects, wrongly, but at all events conveniently— goes by the name of the Vaidika literature With the commencement of that study we always associate in our minds such great names as those of a Colebrooke, a Wilson, a Burnouf, a Lassen, the courageous and ingenious pioneers who opened the path on which we are now travelling with greater safety and ease

But whence was it that they were able to unfold to us the first secrets of ancient Hindu religion, of ancient Hindu philo sophy and scientific research ? It was through the aid of the commentaries, in the first rank of which stands that of Patañ-

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[251] Almost simultaneously with the last proof sheets I received the second edition of Professor Muller's 'History of Sanskrit Literature" As both editions entirely correspond in their typographical arrangement, and I believe, in their contents also the quotations here made from the first edition, will be found on the same pages of the second

jali, in the second the work of those master minds, the most prominent of whom are Śankara and Mādhava-Sāyana Without the vast infomation these commentators have disclosed to us, — without their method of explaining the obscurest texts,— in one word, without their scholarship, we should still stand at outer doors of Hindu antiquity

But to understand the value of these great commentators and exegetes, we must bear in mind the two essentials which have given them the vast influence which they have acquired. The first is the *traditional*, and the second the *grammatical*, element that pervades their works

The whole religious life of ancient India is based on tradition *Śruti*, or Veda, was revealed to the Rshis of the Vaidika hymns Next to it comes *Smrti*, or tradition, which is based on *the revealed texts, and which is authoritative only in so far as* it is in accordance with them Hence a commentator like *Mādhava-Sāyana*, for instance, considered it as incumbent on him to prove that he had not merely mastered the Vaidika texts, but the Mīmānsā also, one portion of which is devoted to this question of the relation between Śruti and Smrti – works It is known that he is one of the principal writers on the Mīmānsā philosophy Without tradition, the whole religious development of India would be a shadow without reality, a phantom too vague to be grasped by the mind. Tradition tells us through *the voice of the commentators, who re-echo* the voice of their ancestors, how the nation, from immemorial times, understood the sacred texts, what inference they drew from them, what influence they allowed them to exercise on their religious, philosophical, ethical,— in a word, on their national, development And this is the real, the practical, and therefore the truly scientific interest they have for us, for all other interest is *founded on theories devoid of substance and proof, is imaginary* and *phantastical*

But it would be utterly erroneous to assume that a scholar like Sāyana, or even a copy of him, like Mahīdhara, contented himself with being the mouth piece of his predecessors or ancestors They not only record the sense of the Vaidika texts

and the sense of the words of which these texts consist, but they endeavour to show that the interpretations which they give are *consistent with the grammatical requirements of the language itself* And this proof, which they give whenever there is the slightest necessity for it— and in the beginning of their exegesis, even there is no apparent necessity for it, merely in order to impress on the reader the basis on which *they stand,— this* proof is the great grammatical element in these commentatorial works

In short, these great Hindu commentators do not merely explain the meanings of words, but they justify them, or endeavour to justify them, on the ground of the *grammar* of PĀNINI the *Vārtikas* of KĀTYĀYANA *and the Mahābhāshya of* PATAÑJALI

Let us recall, then, the position we have vindicated for Pānini and Kātyāyana in the ancient literature, and consider how far this ground is solid ground and how far, and when, we may feel justified in attaching a doubt to the decisions of so great a scholar as Sāyana

We have seen that within the whole range of Sanskrit literature so far as it is known to us, only the Samhitās of the Rg- Sāma and Black- Yajurveda and among individual authors, only the exegete Yāska preceded *Pānini,*— that the whole bulk of the remaining known literature is posterior to his eight grammatical books We have seen, moreover, that *Kātyāyana* knew the Vājasaneyi-Samhitā and the Śatapatha-brāhmana, and that, in consequence, we may assign to him, without fear of contradiction, a knowledge of the principal other Brāhmanas known to us, and probably of the Atharva-veda also

Such being the case, we must then conclude that Sāyana was right in assenting to Patañjali, who, throughout his Intro duction to Pānini, shows that Pānini s Grammar was written in strict reference to the Vaidika Samhitās, which, as I may now contend, were the three principal Samhitās He is right, too, in appealing, wherever there is need, to the Vārttikas of

Kātyāyana, for the latter endorses the rules of Pānini when he does not criticise them, and completes them wherever he thinks that Pānini has omitted to notice a fact And since we have found that the Rk Prātiśākhya fulfils the same object as these Vārttikas, viz that of completing the rules of Pānini, and that Kātyāyana's Prātiśākhya, which is later than that attributed to Śaunaka, preceded his own Vārttikas, we must grant, too, that he was right in availing himself of the assistance of those works, all of which are prior to the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana

That analogous conclusions apply to the Ishtis of Patañjali and to the Phitsūtras of Śāntana is obvious

But it is from *the chronological position* in which these works stand to one other that we may feel justified in occasionally *criticising the decisions of Sāyana Without a knowledge* of it, or at least without a serious and conscientious attempt at obtaining it, all criticisms on Sāyana lay themselves open to the reproach of mere arbitrariness and superficiality

For, if the results here maintained be adopted, good and substantial reasons — which, however, would first have to be proved — might allow us to doubt the correctness of a decision of Sāyana if for instance, he rejected an interpretation of a word that would follow from a rule of Pānini, on the sole ground that Kātyāyana did not agree with Pānini, or, if he interpreted a word merely on the basis of a Vārttika of Kātyāyana, we might fairly question his decision, if we saw reason to apply to the case a rule of Pānini, perhaps not criticised by Kātyāyana Again, if we had substantial reasons for doing so, we might oppose our views to those of Sāyana when he justified a meaning by the aid of the Phitsūtras alone, though these Sūtras may be at variance with Pānini, for we should say that these Sūtras, "when compared to Pānini, are as if they were made to-day"

In short, the greater the distance becomes between a Veda and the grammarian who appended to it his notes, the more we shall have a plausible ground for looking forward, in preference

to him, to that grammarian who stood nearer to the fountain head Even Pāṇini would cease to be our ultimate refuge, if we found Yāska opposed to him, and Gārgya, Śākalya, Śākatāyana, or the other predecessors of Pāṇini, would deserve more serious consideration than himself, if we were able to see that they maintained a sense of a Vaidika word which is differently rendered by him

This is the critical process to which I hold that the commentaries of Sāyana may be subjected, should it be deemed necessary to differ from them

These remarks apply, of course, only to the Samhitās which preceded Pāṇini, for, as to the literature which was posterior to him, Kātyāyana becomes necessarily our first exegetic authority, and after him comes Patañjali I need not go further, for I have sufficiently explained the method I advocate, and the exception I take to that dogmatical schooling of these ancient authorities, which, so far from taking the trouble of conscientiously ascertaining their *relative chronological position in the literature* merely exhibits, at every step, its own want of scholarship

I must now, though reluctantly take a glance at the manner in which the Vaidika texts, more especially their groundwork, the Samhitās, nay, how the whole Sanskrit literature itself, is dealt with by those who profess to be our teachers and our authorities And still more reluctantly must I advert to one work especially, which, above all others, has set itself up as our teacher and authority — the great Sanskrit Dictionary published by the Russian Imperial Academy

The principles on which this work deals with the Vaidika texts is expressed by Professor Roth in his preface to it, in the following words [282] "Therefore we do not believe, as H H

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[282] "Sanskrit Worterbuch herausgegeben von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, bearbeitet von Otto Boehtlingk und Rudolph Roth" Preface, p v

Wilson does,[283] that Sāyana better understood the expressions of the Veda than any European exegete, and that we have nothing to do but repeat what he says, on the contrary, we believe that a conscientious European exegete may understand the Veda much more correctly and better than Sāyana We do not consider in the [our] immediate purpose to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago,[284] but we search for the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases We consequently hold that the writings of Sāyana and of the other commentators must not be an authority to the exegete, but merely one of the means of which he has to avail himself in the accomplishment of his task, which certainly is difficult, and not to be effected at a first attempt, nor by a single individual On this account we have much regretted that the meritorious edition of the commentary on the Rgveda, by Müller, is not yet more advanced [285]

" We have, therefore, endeavoured to take the road which is prescribed by philology, to elicit the sense of the texts by putting together all the psssages which are kindred either in regard to their words or their sense, a road which is slow and tedious, and which, indeed, has not been trodden before, either by the commentators or the translators Our double lot has, therefore, been that of exegetes as well as lexicographers The purely etymological proceeding, as it must be followed up by

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283 Note of Professor Roth "Rg-Veda Samhitā A collection of ancient Hindu hymns, etc Translated from the original Sanskrit By H H Wilson London, 1850 I., p 25 "

284 Note of Professor Roth "Wilson, a a O II p xvlii " But the page quoted by Professor Roth does not contain one single word in reference to the passage which it apparently intends to bear out

285 The first part of the Dictionary of Professor Roth and Dr Boehtlingk was issued in 1852, the first volume, which is prefaced by the words quoted, in 1855, the first and second part of the second volume in 1856, the third part of the same volume in 1857 Professor Müller's first volume of the Rgveda appeared in 1849, the second in 1854, the third in 1856

those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, without having before them the ten or twenty other passages in which the same word recurs, cannot possibly lead to a correct result "[286]

It would be but common fairness to allow these words of Professor Roth to be followed by the entire preface which the lamented Professor Wilson has prefixed to the second volume of his invaluable translation of the Rgveda the more so, as his views have been unscrupulously distorted in the statement here quoted , for though his views are supposed to be refuted by this passage, they could not shine brighter, in genuine modesty, in true scholarship, and in thorough common sense, than when placed by the side of this passage, which I will not qualify but analyse But as I could not easily quote some twenty pages from Professor Wilson's excellent work, and as I should scarcely do justice to the manes of that distinguished man if I did not allow him to give his full answer, I must leave it to the reader to obtain for himself that contrast to which I here advert

If, then,we analyse the ideas and principles presented in the passage just quoted, they come before us to the following effect —

(1) Sāyana gives us only that sense of the Veda which was current in India some centuries ago

(2) Professor Roth is far more able than Sāyana and other commentators to give us the correct sense of the Veda

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[286] In reference to this view of Professor Roth of the relation of the Hindu commentators to the Vaidika hymns Professor Weber says in the 'Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft,' vol X p 575 Allem was daruber gesagt ist schliessen wir uns auf das Unbedingteste und Entschiedenste an ," i e "To all that has been said on it [on this relation, in the Preface of the Wörterbuch] we [sic , does Professor Weber speak in his own name or in that of the whole Dictionary-company ?] assent in the most unconditional and in the most peremptory manner "

(3) For, he can put together some ten or twenty passages referring to the same word, whereas Sāyana and other commentators could not do this, but had to guess its sense

(4) He is above confining himself to the purely etymological process, which is that of these commentators

(5) His object is not to understand the sense of the Veda which was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the authors of the hymns themselves gave to their songs and phrases

(6) Professor Roth is a conscientious European exegete

Before I give my Vārttikas to these six Sūtras, which define the exegetical position of the Sanskrit Worterbuch, I must observe that I am compelled, by the very nature of this Dissertation to leave them in a similar position to that occupied by the *Perface of Professor Roth itself His Dictionary is the test of* the assertions he makes The test of my remarks would be a critical review of his Dictionary *I hereby promise him that my earliest leisure will be devoted to this review, especially as my materials for it are not only collected and ready, but so abundant as to give me a difficulty of choice* But my present answer must, of necessity, deal with his generalities only in general terms

(1) Sāyana or the other commentators give us, he intimates, only that sense of the Veda which was current in India *some centuries ago*

A bolder statement I defy any scholar to have met with in any book Sāyana incessantly refers to Yāska All his explanations show that he stands on the ground of the *oldest legends and traditions* — of such traditions, moreover, as have no connection whatever with the creed of those sects which represent the degenerated Hindu faith in his time , yet Professor Roth ventures to tell the public at large, authoritatively and *without a particle of evidence* that these legends and his version of the Rgveda are but some centuries old I believe, and every *learned Hindu will hold with me, that Sāyana would have been* hooted out of the country where he lived, had he dared to commit the imposition implied in this charge, on King Bukka,

his lord, or on his countrymen I hope, however, that Professor Roth will free himself from the reproach expressed by these words, by showing on what authority he gives such a piece of information, which is either all important for Europe as well as for India, or places him in the most ridiculous position that is conceivable

(2) When an author tells us that he is able to do that which another author cannot do, we are entitled to infer that he is, at all events, thoroughly acquainted with all that this author has done I am well aware,— I may add through the pleasure of personal remembrances,— that Professor Roth passed some time at Paris, and some little time in London also, when collecting his valuable materials for his edition of Yāska's Nirukta Only in London and at Oxford, and, in some small measure, at Paris also, are the materials requisite for studying the Vaidika commentaries of Sāyana obtainable in Europe Does Professor Roth intimate by the statement above quoted, that his stay in these cities enabled him to study and copy, for his lexicographical purposes— then not thought of— all the works of Sāyana, or that he, at Tubingen, is in possession of all those materials, the knowledge of which alone could entitle him to claim credit for a statement like that which he has ventured to make ? But I need not pause for his reply He regrets, as we have read, that "the meritorious edition by Muller, of Sāyana's Commentary was not further advanced" when he closed the first volume of his Dictionary Thus, when he began his "exegetical' work, he was only acquainted with the Commentary of Sāyana as far as the first Ashtaka , and when he wrote these lines, he may *perhaps* have known its continuation up to a portion of the third Ashtaka—in other words, no more than a third of Sāyana s whole Commentary on the Rgveda , and yet he ventures to speak of the whole Commentary of Sāyana, and to say that he can do what Sāyana was unable to perform ? But we almost forget the words of Professor Roth are by no means restricted to the Rgveda Commentary alone , it embraces the commentaries to *all the Samhitās* And here I am once more compelled to ask— Does he assert that he knew, when he wrote these words, Sāyana's

Commentary on the Sāma-veda and Taittirīya Samhitā, or even Sāyana's Commentary on the Śatapatha-Brāhmana ? For surely he would not think of calling that Sāyana's Commentary to this Brāhmana, which has been presented to us extracted and mangled in Professor Weber's edition of the Śatapatha-Brāhmana And yet he has the courage to pass this sweeping condemnation on all these gigantic labours of the Hindu mind, while ignorant of all but the merest fraction of them ?

(3) Professor Roth no doubt enjoys a great advantage when he can put together some ten or twenty passages for examining the sense of a word which occurs in them , but I beg to submit that there are many instances in which a Vaidika word does not occur twenty or ten, nor yet five or four times, in the Samhitās How does he, then, muster his ten or twenty passages, when, nevertheless, he rejects the interpretation of Sāyana ? For it would seem that in such a case the "guessing" of Sāyana, as he calls it, stands on a good ground as his own But the assurance with which he implies that Sāyana was not capable of mustering ten or twenty passages which are at the command of Professor Roth, presupposes, indeed, in his readers a degree of imbecile credulity which is, no doubt, a happy condition of mind for those who rejoice in it, and perhaps that best fitted for reading assertions like these, but which may not be quite so universal as he seems to assume Mādhava Sāyana, one of the profoundest scholars of India, the exegete of all the three Vedas, as he tells us himself,—of the most important Brāhmanas and a Kalpa work,—Mādhava, the renowned Mīmānsist—he, the great grammarian, who wrote the learned commentary on the Sanskrit radicals, who shows at every step that he has Pānini and Kātyāyana at his fingers' ends,—Mādhava, who, on account of his gigantic learning and his deep sense of religion, lives in the legends of India as an incarnation of Śiva,— in short, the great Mādhava, we are told, had not the proficiency of combining in his mind or otherwise those ten or twenty passages of *his own Veda*, which Professor Roth has the powerful advantage of bringing together by means of his little memoranda !

(4) "The purely etymological proceeding," he says, "as it must be followed up by those who endeavour to guess the sense of a word, cannot possibly lead to a correct result"

By these words he compels us to infer, in the first instance, that the meanings which Sāyana gives to Vaidika words are purely etymological, for when he illustrates his statement in a subsequent passage, by alleging such instances as "power, sacrifice, food, wisdom, to go, to move," it is clear that his sweeping assertion cannot be considered as merely embracing these six words, which, in his opinion, sometimes admit of a modification of sense Just as he cancels the whole spirit of Sāyana's commentary, he tells us with the utmost assurance that the whole commentary of Sāyana is purely etymological There is, I admit, an advantage in boldness, for if you tell a man while gazing on the noon-day sun that he is actually in the darkness of mid-night, he may probably prefer to doubt the evidence of his senses rather than venture to reject the extraordinary news you bring him I open at random the three quartos of Max Müller, I look at every page once, twice, many times No doubt Professor Roth must be quite correct, for my eyes are blind But, since I suffer under this sudden disability, I may at least be permitted to quote that very page from Wilson's preface to the second volume of his translation which Professor Roth quoted above, as if it bore out his statement concerning the "some centuries"

"As many instances of this elliptical construction," we read there, "have been given in the notes of both this and the former volume, a few additional instances will here be sufficient — thus (p 301, v 9) we have the 'grandson of the waters has ascended above the crooked ——,' 'the broad and golden —— spread around' What would the European scholar do here without the Scholiast? He might, perhaps, suspect that the term crooked, curved, or bent, or, as here explained, crooked-going, tortuous, might apply *to the clouds* but he would hesitate as to what he should attach the other epithets to, and the original author alone could say with confidence that he meant '*rivers*,' which thenceforward became the traditional and admit-

ted explanation, and is, accordingly, so supplied by the Scholiast"

Thus, has Sāyana stopped at the etymological sense of "crooked-going," or of "gold-coloured ?

But, in the second instance, though Professor Roth, of course, possesses all the knowledge which these ignorant Hindu commentators were wanting in, he implies by his words, that the meanings he creates in overstepping the purely etymological process, nevertheless rest on it Since my reply on this point would have to enter into detail, and since I have promised to give *much* detail in the review which will be the commentary on my present remarks, I will merely here state that I know of no work which has come before the public with such unmeasured pretensions of scholarship and critical ingenuity as this Wörterbuch, and which has, at the same time, laid itself open to such serious reproaches of the *profoundest grammatical ignorance* And, as an etymological proceeding without a thorough knowledge of grammar is etymological thimblerig, I may at least here prepare the reader who takes an interest in such plays, for a performance on the most magnificent scale *Or to speak in plain prose, I shall prove to Professor Roth by* means of those same authorities which I have so often impressed on the reader's mind, that his Dictionary has created many meanings without the slightest regard to the grammatical properties of the word, and, in consequence, that his Vaidika exegesis in all these numerous and important instances has just that worth which a Veda revealed by Professor Roth has in comparison with the Veda of India

(5) The object of Professor Roth is "not to obtain that understanding of the Veda which was current in India a few centuries back, but to know the meaning which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases"

This is unquestionably most important intelligence Sāyana gives us the sense of the Veda, such as it was handed down to him — not indeed a few centuries ago, but from generation to generation immemorial— yet within this Kaliyuga, I suppose Nāgojibhatta, again, we have seen,[287] tells us that in the vari-

[287] See note 171

ous destructions of the world, the Rshis received new revelations from the divinity, which did not affect the eternal sense of the Veda, but merely the order of its words But now we learn, for the first time, that Professor Roth has received a revelation at Tubingen, which as yet has neither reached the banks of the Thames nor those of the Ganges He is going to tell us the sense which the original Rshis gave to their songs and phrases, at a period of Hindu antiquity, which is as much within scientific reach as the commencement of the world itself Who will not hail this revelation which dispenses with grammar and all that sort of thing, and who will not believe in it ?

And yet I have one word more to add in regard to Professor Roth's "direct communication with the Hindu divinities" He does not attach any importance, as he tells us, and abundantly proves, to that Veda which is the foundation of the religious development of India , for that Veda is the Veda of Sāyana, and that Veda, too, which alone concerns us uninspired mortals But even Professor Roth himself professes, in another part of his Preface, the greatest respect for the native commentaries on theological and ritual books There he emphatically exclaims (p iv) " Indeed, for one of the two portion of the Vaidika literature, for the works on theology and the rites, we cannot wish for any better guides than these commentators, accurate in every respect, who follow their texts word for word, who are untiring in repeating everywhere that which they have already said whenever there could arise even the appearance of a misunderstanding, and who sometimes seem rather to have written for us foreigners than for their priestly pupils grown up under these ideas and impressions ' How far his work has embodied the conviction expressed in these words which could not have been expressed with greater truth, I shall have to examine in my review But I fear that these eloquent words must have escaped his memory in the midst of all the revelations he received On the Rgveda we have already exchanged our views, but not yet on the other Vedas These are avowedly extracted, or "milked, as the Hindus say, from the Rk That the Sāmaveda is entirely taken from it, we have

proof,[288] and that the metrical parts of the Yajus likewise rests on a version of it, no one will dispute But both these Vedas are professedly not poetical anthologies They are purely and simply ritual Vedas, and therefore belong — not only from a Hindu, but from an European point of view also — to the ritual literature At the Jyotishṭoma, for instance, the priest chants, not the Rg-, but the Sāma-veda hymns, though the verses are apparently the same in both At the Aśvamedha he mutters, not the Rg-, but the Yajur veda hymns This means that, whatever may have been the "original sense" of such Rgveda verses, in their Sāma or Yajur veda arrangement which, in numerous instances, has brought Rgveda verses of different hymns or books, into a new hymn,— the Sāmaveda hymns and the Yajurveda hymns have only a value as far as their immediate object, *the sacrifice, is concerned Hence even the most* transcendental and the most inspired critic has nothing to do in these two Vedas with "the sense which the poets themselves gave to their songs and phrases," he has simply to deal with that sense which religion or superstition imparted to these verses, in order to adapt them to the imaginary effects of the sacrifice As little as it would be our immediate object, when assisting at the horse sacrifice, to ask what is the etymology of horse ? or as little as it would be seasonable to trace the linguistic origin of a cannon-ball when it whistles past our ears, *just so little have we to impart "the original sense"*— I mean that sense revealed to Professor Roth — to the verses of the Sāma- and Yajur- veda, even when we are "both exegetes and lexicographers" And yet I shall give abundant proof that, *even on these two Vedas, Professor* Roth has had revelations of a most astounding character

(6) "We believe that a conscientious European exegete might understand much more correctly and thoroughly the sense of the Veda than Sāyana" I should encroach on the judgment of the reader, if I ventured upon any remarks on this latter statement after what I have already said

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288 See note 75

In now adverting to the treatment which the scientific and classical literature has received in the Sanskrit Wörterbuch, I need only say that this department is in the hands of Dr Böehtlingk In saying this, I have said everything After such an expression of opinion, it will, of course, be my duty to show, at the earliest opportunity, that Dr Boehtlingk is incapable of understanding even easy rules of Pānini, much less those of Kātyāyana, and still less is he capable of making use of them in the understanding of classical texts The errors in his department of the Dictionary are so numerous and of so *peculiar* a kind — yet, on the whole, so thoroughly in accordance with the specimens I have adduced from his Commentary on Pānini, that it will fill every serious Sanskritist with dismay, when he calculates the mischievous influence which they must exercise on the study of Sanskrit philology

On the present occasion, I must confine myself to these preliminary remarks, or at best content myself with adverting to one other passage in the Preface to the Wörterbuch It runs thus (p vii) "In order to facilitate the finding (of the words) for those who will make use of our Dictionary, we have to make the following observation We have banished completely from the verbal roots the vowels *r*, *r̄*, and *lr*, as well as the diphthongs at their end , for *r* at the end of nominal bases we have substituted *ar* "

Thus the Wörterbuch does not give, like the Hindu grammarians, a radical *kr*, but it gives *kar* , not *klrp*, but *kalp* , not *jr̄* but *jar* , not *pitr*, but *pitar* , not *dātr*, but *dātar*, etc Now, this Dictionary professes to be a Dictionary of the Sanskrit language, not of some imaginary idiom which may be current at Tubingen or St Petersburg One would therefore have supposed that the public was entitled to expect some reason for these changes,—to know by what scientific considerations the authors of this work were guided, when they took upon themselves the responsibility of thus *abolishing the radicals and nominal bases taught by Pānini and subsequent grammarians* But, in the fullness of its authority, this work does not condescend to meet any such demand it simply cancels whole categories of grammati-

cal forms, and those of the greatest importance and comprehensiveness Whether I am right or not in inferring the arguments which were in the minds of its writers when they presumed thus dictatorially to impose their theories on Sanskrit philology, may be a matter of doubt, but my supposition is that this innovation is founded on researches belonging to comparative philology It cannot rest on mere Sanskritic ground, since all the forms they have cancelled really occur as thematic forms in the Sanskrit language itself Thus, to use the same instance *kr* occurs in *kr-ta*, *klrp* in *klrp ta*, *pitr* in *pitr-bhis*, *dātr* in *dātr-bhis* , and as to *jr̄*,—*jirna* can only follow from *jr̄*, not from *jar* Their reasons, founded on comparative grammar, must then be these that some bases in *r* are represented in Latin by *er* and *or*, and in Greek by ερ, ηρ, and ορ , *pitr-*, for instance corresponds with Latin *pater-*, Greek πατερ-, *dātr* with *dator-* and δοτηρ, etc

Now even supposing that such an argument had any weight at all in a dictionary of the Sanskrit language, the application made of it would be incongruous For though *pitar-* corresponds with *pater-*, *dātăr-* does not correspond with *datôr-*, its representative would have had to assume the form *dātār* The whole theory therefore, on the supposition I have made, would practically break down, and the innovation would be inconsistent with itself as well as at variance with comparative results

But can such an argument be at all admissible ? If a Sanskrit Dictionary were concerned, like Professor Bopp's Comparative Grammar, with eliciting from the forms of sister languages the forms of that parental language whence they may be supposed to have derived their origin, it would be defensible to give the forms of that parental language itself But a Sanskrit Dictionary can have no such aim *Its immediate object is the* actual language which it has to deal with It must take it such as it is, in its very deviations from the germ whence it has sprung Its function is not to *correct* the real historical language, but to record its facts , and in doing so, to collect the materials which are to be used as well by the special as by the comparative philologer And in so far as its direct purpose is concerned, this is all it has to do Any observations it may

choose to attach to the real historical facts may of course be given, but it shows an utter want of judgment, to say nothing else when it presumes to alter the very forms of language itself

I may venture also to add a few other observations on the forms thus cancelled in this "conscientious" Sanskrit Worterbuch It is known that many Sanskrit bases, and amongst them the bases in *r*, undergo various changes in their declension and otherwise *Pitr*, for instance, becomes *pitar*, in the accusative *pitar am*, while it remains as it is, in the instrumental *pitr-bhis*, *dadhi* remains so in *dadhi-bhis*, but its base is *dadhan* with the loss of *a*, in *dadhn ā*, *asthi* forms *asthi-bhis*, but *asthn-ā* Now there exists a paper of Dr Boehtlingk on the Sanskrit declension, but whoever reads it must fancy that the language either played dice with these and similar forms, or is undergoing some remarkable cure He talks of bases "which are strengthened as well as weakened," of bases "which are only strengthened," and of bases "which are only weakened" Why language should nurse and physic its bases, as we learn from him, no one will understand But a sadder spectacle of the treatment of a language or of linguistic facts than is presented in that paper, it is not possible to imagine The *reasoning* there is exactly on the same level as the reasoning in the "*edition*" of Pānini, of which so many specimens have now become familiar to the reader of this Dissertation Exactly the same game at dice or the same vagaries of disease reign in this Dictionary thus, though the declension phenomena of *akshi*, *asthi*, *dadhi*, are identical, and acknowledged to be so by Dr Böehtlingk himself in his paper on Declension (§ 69), in his Dictionary he discourses on the first noun under *akshan*, and again under *akshi*, while, on the contrary, if we look to *asthi*, he refers us to *asthan*, and if under his guidance we now go to *dadhan*, he requests us to seek for information under *dadhi*

But since the linguistic hospital, which is opened in the works of Dr Böehtlingk, is fortunately not the place in which the Sanskrit language lies,— for this language has had a sound and rational development— it will be obvious to every one who happens not to be placed under Dr Böehtlingk's treatment, that

there must be reasons for this variety of thematic forms which constitute the declension of the same base And as there are such reasons, the immediate consequence is that we cannot decide, *a priori*, weather *kartar* be the "strengthened" form of the original base *kartr*, or "*kartr*" the "weakened" form of the original base *kartar* Such a decision can only be taken after a thorough investigation of the influences which cause this change, of the nature of these influences themselves, and of the manner in which they work And as language does not sit down like a school-boy, first to master the declensions, then the conjugations, and so on,—but as the influences I am speaking of are influences which are traceable in the whole organism of language itself, it is obvious, too, that such an investigation would not restrict itself to the phenomena of declension merely, but extend over the whole area of the linguistic development

When I myself assumed the responsibility of writing a Sanskrit Dictionary, I considered it incumbent on me to devote a most serious research to those little facts which, as we have seen, are despatched in five lines by our modern "exegetes and lexicographers " Six years have elapsed since I laid my first results, so far as lexicographical purposes are concerned, before the London Philological Society, and it is only the desire of giving them in their full bearing and extent that has hitherto delayed their presentation through the press *Now, it is questions* like these — questions which, in my mind, ought to be decided with the very utmost circumspection, and which cannot be decided without very laborious research,—it is questions like these which have been trifled with in this Worterbuch in the most unwarranted manner It does not show that it even understands the important problem which lies in its path , it briefly informs the reader that it has cancelled all the bases in *r*, *ṝ* *lr*, etc and bids him— good bye

Patañjali,—let us for a moment repose after this dreary journey through the Wörterbuch,— Patañjali on one occasion thus speaks to us "When a man is in want of a pot, he goes to the

house of a potter and says (potter!) make me a pot, for I have occasion for it. But (surely) a man who wants to employ words will not go, like the other, to the house of a grammarian and say (grammarian!) make me some words, I have occasion for them."[289] Happy Patañjali! blessed in thy ignorance! Here we have potters who can fabricate — and not simply meanings of words, but the very words themselves, and words, too, which you laboured so earnestly, so learnedly, so conscientiously, to save from the pottering of all future "exegetes and lexicographers." Nay, we have, too men who can repair to these potters, and call for, and admire, their linguistic wares!

When the presence of these extraordinary facts, which, unhappily, must silence the expression of all the acknowledgment — nay, of *all the admiration I really entertain for the immense industry* displayed in this Wörterbuch,— when with that deep sense which I entertain of the *duties* and of the *influence* of a Dictionary, and, in the actual condition of Sanskrit philology more especially of a Sanskrit Dictionary,— when with these convictions, the earnestness of which, I believe, is proved throughout the whole of this investigation,— when — I will not conceal it — under the indignation and grief I felt in seeing a magnificent opportunity thrown away— as I shall abundantly prove that it has been thrown away in the case of the Sanskrit Worterbuch, — when under these impressions I uttered a warning, five years ago, in the "Westminster Review," a warning contained in three pages, there ensued a spectacle which, during my literary experience, stands without a parallel

Professsor Kuhn,— not indeed a proficient in Sanskrit, nor having ever obtained any position amongst those who are earnestly engaged in Sanskrit philology, but — as a contributor

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[289] Mahābhāshya Introduction (p 52 ed Ballantyne): घटेन कार्यं करिष्यन्कुम्भकारकुलं गत्वाह कुरु घटं कार्यमनेन करिष्यामीति। न तद्वच्छब्दान्प्रयुयुक्षमाणो वैयाकरणकुलं गत्वाह कुरु शब्दान्प्रयोक्ष्य इति।

of quotations to the Worterbuch, launched against me the grossest personal invectives which ever disgraced the pages of a scientific journal As sound, literary argument was beyond his range, he indemnified himself, and gratified his employers, by calling me names Unfortunately for him his abuse could produce no effect upon me, for the following reason Amongst the few critical remarks for which I had room, in the "Westminster Review," there was one which illustrated the manner in which Professor Roth had translated a ritual text This remark was expressly written for Professor Kuhn's amusement as well as that of Professor Weber For at a small Sanskritic party which used to meet every fortnight at Berlin during the years 1847 and 1848, I had shown them the Commentary of Mādhava on a Mīmānsā work, the editing of which I had then commenced, this Commentary being the proof of the assertion I had made in 1855 in the "Westminster Review" Professor Kuhn heartily enjoyed, at one of these meetings, the precious translation of the passage in question from the Aitareya Brāhmana given by Professor Roth, in the preface (pp xxxviii xli) to his edition of the Nirukta Nay more, so anxious was he to possess its substance, before it was published, that in my presence he took notes from the Commentary I am speaking of—viz that of the Jaiminīya-nyāya-māla-vistara And in the invectives to which I am alluding, he does not deny the existence, nor yet the value, of my evidence, but he words his defence of Professor Roth in so studied and so ambiguous a manner as to create in the minds of his readers a suspicion as to the reliability of the statement I had made, though its truth was perfectly familiar to him [290]

Now, a writer who has recourse to such weapons as these has laid aside those qualities which are necessary to retain a man within the pale of a gentlemanly consideration, and his language, however gross, and adapted to his own character,

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[290] In possession of the information I am speaking of he writes as follows Der letzteren stellt der verfasser eine bedeutend abweichende des

can not touch one who does not stand on the same level with him

A similar exhibition took place, I am grieved to say, in a journal of high standing and respectability, in the "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenlandischen Gesellschaft" It is a salutary practice in the journals of all learned societies, not to admit into

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commentators gegenuber, da er aber nur the commentator und nicht all the commentators oder almost all the commentators sagt, so ist stark zu vermuthen, dass noch andere commentare existiren, welche den text wahrscheinlich in der Rothschen weise erklären werden dabei nehme ich natürlich den Fall als ganz unmoglich an dass der verfasser (der nichts als die ubersetzung giebt) etwa selber den commentar missverstanden haben sollte' i e "In opposition to the latter [viz the version of Professor Roth of the passage in question] the reviewer gives another of the commentator which is considerably different from it, but as he merely says the commentator, and not all the commentators or almost all the commentators, there is a strong probability (*sic !*) that there are other commentators who probably (*sic !*) explain the text in the manner of Professor Roth *With these words I assume it, as a matter of course, to be plainly impossible that the reviewer who gives nothing but the translation, should have misunderstood the commentary* "— That Professor Kuhn had not the slightest doubt as to who was the author of the review in question, even he will not venture to deny, for he has stated the fact in letters and in conversation But even if he had any such doubt, he knew that I *was* in possession of the commentary, for he had taken notes from it If then, the ascertainment of truth alone had been the object of his remark, as the public might expect of an author, and if his notes were not complete enough—which however, I do not admit— the time required for a letter to me and an answer back that is to say, five days, would have sufficed to give him all the information he could wish for It requires, however no statement from me that his object was not to inform his readers of the *true* state of the facts , it better suited his purpose to insinuate a doubt as to the correctness of the translation I had given Indeed Professor Weber,— who as I have mentioned, possessed the same knowledge and had obtained it in the same manner, as Professor Kuhn settles the point Though he did not remain behind

their pages scurrilous or libellous attacks against individuals, and this practice has been rigidly adhered to in the journal to which I am adverting, with the single exception of my own case Professor Weber, who is also in the service of the Worterbuch, suddenly attacked me in this journal,— not, indeed, with anything that deserves the name of argument, but with personal abuse of the coarsest kind Five years have passed by, and at last a sense of justice, which does credit to himself, has re-entered the mind of Professor Weber, and in the last number of the "Zeitschrift," which reached me when this Dissertation was nearly completed in print, he has fully and honestly retracted all his former calumnies, still, however, combining with the compliments he now pays to my Dictionary, the remark that my views of the Worterbuch show a perfect derangement of my mental faculties, since I do not reject the authority of the greatest Hindu scholars as freely and easily as the work he so assiduously praises

I am certainly in no humour to find fault with the opinion which he entertains of my mental condition, for it will always give me a sense of safety and satisfaction when I find him bearing testimony to the vast distance which separates our respective modes of studying, and judging of, Hindu antiquity But, as he has chosen to connect his opinion of me with a piece of scientific advice, this seems a fitting opportunity for illustrating, *once more*, his competence for passing a judgment on matters of Sanskrit philology

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his colleague in scurrilous abuse, and through, in speaking of my translation, he shows his usual levity he, nevertheless, plainly and openly acknowledges the full reliability of the translation I had given, on the ground of the Mīmānsā work He says er kennt namlich offenbar nur die systematisirende Erklarung der Mīmānsāschule, etc ," i e the reviewer obviously knows only the systematizing explanation of the Mīmānsā school, etc " Thus whatever be his opinion of this explanation he speaks of it from *personal knowledge*, and admits that my account of it was correct and not liable of doubt

He says " Another, third, essential difference [between the Worterbuch and my Dictionary ,—I, myself, trust and hope that attentive readers will find many more *essential* differences than three between the two works] consists in [my] not marking the accent of the words "

In his opinion, therefore, the Worterbuch *does* mark the accent Now, setting aside the very considerable quantity of words which are not marked with any accent in this work, the instances in which it is marked there seem to satisfy the scientific requirements of Professor Weber I ought, then, to mention in the first place, that in all such cases the accent is put there over the word without any further explanatory remark But I have shown that there are *periods* in the known Sanskrit *grammatical* literature ,— that the first period is that of Pāṇini, the second that of the Rk Prātiśākhya, the third (perhaps fourth) that of Kātyāyana, the fourth (or perhaps fifth) that of the Phitsūtras , and that, as we continue our descent, we have the period of the Kāśikā, Kaumudī, etc Thus, marking an accent without saying to what period such an accent belongs, *and upto what period it remains in force,* is giving evidence of the greatest superficiality,—it is showing, too, that the difficulties of the question we are speaking of, were not at all understood As regards myself, I believe I might have entered into such detail since I have considered it my duty to turn my researches into this channel also and if the scientific and liberal disposition of my publishers could have disregarded all material considerations in the case — and could have added still more to the great concessions of space which they have already made me, to their own material detriment, since the publication of the Third part of my Dictionary,— I should have been able not only to give quotations *historically*, which the Wörterbuch, notwithstanding Professor Weber s bold assertion— I will not attach to it another epithet— does not give, and to discuss the matters of accent,— but even to re-edit, little by little, the Commentary to the Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa, as I have already done on

several occasions, in order to prove the meanings I give, and which meanings no one could gather from the text as edited by Professor Weber No doubt I might have done all this had I been perfectly independent of material considerations But, at all events, had I, in marking the accents, contented myself with that which satisfies completely Professor Weber's scientific wants, my Dictionary would have become as superficial as the book which he has qualified as a work of the "most scrupulous conscientiousness" [291]

In adverting to Professor Weber's advice, I may as well quote one more instance from his impartial illustration of the difference between the two Dictionaries It concerns the meanings of words in both But as I have adverted to this subject before, I need now only say, that he describes the Worterbuch in the following manner

"It represents," he writes in the 'Zeitschrift', "the principle of reality in contrast with the historical proceeding of interpretation [which he says, is mine], by allowing the words to interpret themselves through the chronological order (*sic* !!) of the quotations added to them, and through these quotations themselves, the authors always quoting the native exegesis also, but merely as a secondary means " [292] And of myself he says, that my "orthodox" faith in the authority of native exegetes and

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[291] In his libel he says, 'dieses Werk des bewunderunswerthesten Fleisses und der sorgsamsten Gewissenhaftigkeit' [For Eng Trans See App A]

[292] "Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft," vol XIV p 765 Die Haupttendenz, die er [i e myself] hiebei verfolgt, besteht eben—und dies markirt einen ferneren Haupt-Unterschied von *Böhtlingk-Roth*—darin, dass er es sich zur Aufgabe macht, die Ansichten der einheimischen Erklärer and Sprachforscher zur prägnanten Geltun gzu bringen, während *Böhtlingk-Roth* diesem historischen Erklärungsverfahren gegenuber das sachliche Princip vertreten, die Worter namlich durch zeitliche Ordnung der betreffenden Stellen und durch eben diese Stellen selbst sich unmittelbar erklären zu lassen wobei sie die einheimische Exegese zwar auch stets anführen, aber doch nur als sekundares Hülfsmittel betrachten."
[For Eng Trans See App A]

grammarians" is something perfectly bewildering, indeed, it presupposes the "derangement of my mental faculties" [293]

It requires all the levity, on the one hand, and all the hardihood, on the other, which are the mixed essentials of Professor Weber's literary productions, to allow an author to come before the public with statements like these As for myself, any one may see that there are various instances in my Dictionary where *I plainly state that I differ from the etymologies or meanings given by the native authorities* These cases of dissent are certainly not frequent, because a serious investigation of the native grammarians led me in most instances to appreciate their scholarship and the correctness of its results, nor have I the presumption to supersede them with mere vague and vapouring doubts, but that I have ground sometimes to differ even from the views of a Kātyāyana or a Patañjali, Professor Weber will have probably learned now from the foregoing pages, though he might have learned it already from my Sanskrit Dictionary, which he is good enough to favour with his advice His statement, therefore, concerning my blind belief in all that the Hindu scholars say, is founded on that same overweening superficiality which, as we have seen, leads him to assume the responsibility of schooling Kātyāyana, whom he does not even understand

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[293] *Ibid* p 756 "Personliche Beziehungen haben uns seitdem uberzeugt dass der Verfasser bei Abfassung jenes, fur uns allerdings immer noch geradezu unbegreiflichen Angriffes auf das Petersburger Worterbuch dennoch wirklich im volligen Rechte zu sein glaubte Es setzt dies freilich nach unserer Ansicht eine Art Verirrung des Denkvermogens voraus, wie sie auf sonstigen Gebieten nicht selten ist, hier aber in der That befremdet eine orthodoxe Hingabe namlich an die Auktorität der indischen Exegeten und Grammatiker, wie sie uns gegenuber diesen Haarspaltern die bei aller Spitzfindigkeit denn doch gar oft jenen verblendeten Leitern gleichen die da Mucken seigen und Kameele verschlucken, sehr wenig am Platze scheint" [For Eng Trans vide App A]

But as to his description of the Worterbuch, I know not how to qualify it without using *language which could only be* used by a Professor Kuhn It is one of my most serious reproaches against the Sanskrit Worterbuch, that it not only creates its own meanings, and by applying them to the most important documents of the literature, *practically falsifies antiquity itself*, but deliberately, and nearly constantly, *suppresses* all the information we may derive from the native commentaries I have intimated that *the great injury they have thus done to the due* appreciation of Hindu antiquity, would have been lessened had they at least, as common sense would suggest, given by the side of their own inventions the meanings of Sāyana or Mahīdhara *or of other* authorities, *and thus enabled the student to* judge for himself Yet while the reader may peruse their Dictionary page after page, sheet after sheet without discovering a *trace of these celebrated Vaidika commentaries*, while the exceptions to this rule are so rare as to become almost equal to zero, Professor Weber dares to speculate on the credulity of the public in telling it that this Dictionary ALWAYS *quotes the native exegesis!*

When a cause has sunk so low as to have such defenders and require such means of *defences as these, when its own* contributors and its noisiest bards have no other praise to chant than such as this, it seems almost cruel to aggravate its agony by exposure or reproach

But the spectacle exhibited on the appearance of my *remarks in the* "Westminster Review" *does* not end here, and its epilogue is perhaps even more remarkable than the play itself In the same "Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen *Gesellschaft*"* *there followed* another act, which is so characteristic of the system pursued in these attacks, that it deserves a special word, merely for the sake of curiosity An individual† *whose sole connection* with Sanskrit studies consists in handing Sanskrit books to those who can read

* [XI, 286]

† [Perhaps Gosche]

them, a literary naught, wholly unknown, but assuming the airs of a quantity, because it has figures before it that prompt it on,—this personage who, as his own friends informed me, is perfectly ignorant of Sanskrit, he, too, was allowed to give *his* opinion on the Worterbuch I need not say that, in the absence of all knowledge of the subject itself, it merely vented itself, in the most grandiloquent praise, but, to complete its mission, there was added to this fustian, language, in reference to me, such as certainly was never heard, or admitted before, in a respectable journal of any society He need not tremble lest I should drag him into notoriety Nature has not fitted him for estimating the ridicule to which he exposed himself in becoming the mouthpiece and the puppet of his instigators If he deserve anything, it is not chastisement, but pity, and the mercy of a charitable concealment of his name

And all this outrage, not only against the interests of science and truth, but against the commonest rules of decency, was committed in a series of planned attacks, because I had warned the Sanskrit Worterbuch of the danger of its career, and had not expressed any admiration for Dr Boehtlingk's competence or scholarship

It was then, and the ground of observations I had made in regard to his want of proficiency, that I was called upon by one of his men, not only to have respect for the "editor of Pānini," but even for the *hidden* reasons he might have had in foisting on the public his blunders of every kind The "editor of Pānini was held before me as a symbol of scientific accomplishment, his "editior of Pānini" was the great thunderbolt which was hurled at my head by one of these little Jupiters [294]

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[294] Prof Kuhn writes in his "Zeitschrift' the following words "Wo der alten grammatiker nicht erwähnung gethan ist geschah es nur deshalb nicht weil ihre etymologie mit der der verfasser übereinstimmte stellten dieselben aber ohne jene zu erwahnen eigne etymologieen auf, so liess sich doch wohl voraussetzen, dass der herausgeber des Pānini, des Vopadeva u s w dazu seine wohlerwogenen gründe gehabt haben mochte," i e "where no mention was made [in the Wörterbuch] of the old grammari-

For eighteen years I have been thoroughly acquainted with the value and the character of this *"edition"* of Pānini, and yet, from a natural disinclination to antagonise with those who have similar pursuits to my own, I have refrained from apprising the public of the knowledge I possessed in regard to it Twelve years have passed since I explained my views on this book *personally and privately, at our Sanskritic parties*, to Professors Weber and Kuhn , and the longer the interval passed over, the less I felt disposed to speak of it in print At present, after twenty years' time, I should have considered it almost unfair to rake up the past , for a sense of charity would have told me that the moral and intellectual condition of a man may undergo considerable changes during so considerable a period of his life But in spite of my strongest desire to com-

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ans this was done because their etymology agreed with that of the authors of the Wörterbuch , but when the latter made their own etymologies without naming the former, it was but natural to suppose that the editor of Pānini, of Vopadeva, etc had his own well-weighed reasons for doing so " The real nature of this statement of Professor Kuhn will become apparent from the review which I shall give of the Worterbuch But his information, as it is, is not without great interest Thus, according to this quotationer of the *Worterbuch, its authors pass over in silence the labours* of the Hindu grammarians — not because they see reason to adopt the results of the latter — but because these labours have the honour to meet with the approval of Dr Böehtingk and Company Under any circumstances, however, it was but natural and rational to pass them over in silence and *to suppress the information they give,*— for, either they have the honour of being approved of by Dr Böehtlingk, or "the editor of Pānini" had probably his well-weighed reasons for not agreeing with them, and, in *the latter case, there was of course not the slightest necessity that he should* give or even allude to these important reasons The passage quoted would alone quite suffice to illustrate the character of the fulsome adulation and of the puffing advertisements — written, of course, exclusively by the employed scribes of the Wörterbuch — which for some years have made their appearance in some literary journals of Germany, and have not only misled, but imposed upon the public unacquainted or imperfectly acquainted with Sanskrit philology

bine the defence of literary interests with a regard for all the circumstances connected with the author himself, I am not allowed to remain silent, in consequence of the insolent provocations which I receive Not only does Dr Boehtlingk quote *his* "edition" of Pāṇini, in his Worterbuch,— not only does he thus force it, as it were, on us by the references he makes to it, and acknowledge it to this day as his legitimate child,— but one of his own scribes, well acquainted with the judgment I should pass on it, has the hardihood to defy me publicly, by bidding me have respect for the "editor of Pāṇini"

Well, then, I have taken up this impertinent challenge In so far as my present subject permitted, I have illustrated the nature of this immaculate book, and it will not be my fault if I am compelled to recur to it again

Still a provocation of this kind alone would have as little induced me to take up my pen now as it did heretofore, but when I see the public told authoritatively, yet without any proof, that Sāyana teaches that understanding of the Veda which was current in India no longer than a few centuries ago, — when I see that the most distinguished and the most learned Hindu scholars and divines — the most valuable, and sometimes the only, source of all our knowledge of ancient India — are scorned in theory, mutilated in print, and, as a consequence, set aside in the interpretation of Vaidika texts, — when I see that the most ancient records of Hindu antiquity are interpreted to the European public in such a manner as to cease to be that which they are, — when a clique of Sanskritists of this description vapours about giving us the sense of the Veda as it existed at the commencement of Hindu antiquity, — when I see that the very forms of the language are falsified, and that it is made a principle to slur the grammar of Pāṇini, and to ridicule those who lay stress on it, —when I see that one of the highest grammatical authorities of India is schooled for a "*want of practice and skill*," while this censure is passed without even an understanding of the work to which it refers, — when I see

that they who emphatically claim the epithet of "veracious" [295] make statements which are the very reverse of truth, — and when I consider that this method of studying Sanskrit philology is pursued by those whose words apparently derive weight and influence from the professorial position they hold, — and when, moreover, departing from rule and precedent, I see the *journal of a distinguished Society — I fully hope through an* oversight of its editor, though a Professor of Sanskrit himself — permanently made the channel for propagating such statements as I have described and qualified, together with these scandalous personal attacks and calumnies, — then I hold that it would be a want of courage and a dereliction of duty, if I did not make a stand against these SATURNALIA OF SANSKRIT PHILOLOGY.

On this ground I have raised my voice, however feeble and solitary for the moment, and have endeavoured to examine the competence of those who set themselves up as our masters and authorities On *this ground* I have endeavoured to vindicate for Pānini the position he holds in Sanskrit literature, and the position he ought to hold amongst honest Sanskrit philologers.

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[295] Professor Weber in his libel "einen um so peinlicheren Eindruck muss es auf jeden wahrheitsliebenden Forscher machen, etc," *i e* "the more painful is the impression which must be produced on every veracious scholar" [viz, if he reads my opinion on the Worterbuch, which opinion, — *I must add, so far from having changed, is even more emphatic now than* it was when I wrote the review which has so much displeased him].

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH VERSION OF FOOT-NOTES

FOOT-NOTE

291 In his lible he says, 'this work is written with the most admirable diligence and the most careful conscientiousness"

292 'The main tendency he pursues in this consists and this points at a further very important difference between him and Boehtlingk-Poth — in making it his business to evaluate the opinion of the indigenous commentatators and linguists, whereas Boehtlingk-Roth advocate the objective principle in contrast with this historical mode of interpretation They explain the individual words through themselves by arranging the passages concerned in a temporal order and with the aid of nothing else but these passages In doing so, they would always mention the native exegesis too, but they consider it a secondary resource" (Z D M G p 755)

293 Personal contacts and communication have since then convinced us that the author when writing that attack, which we, however, fail to understand, on the Petersburg Dictionary, believed to be completely justified This in our opinion, presupposes a kind of error of judgement, which, not rare in other fields, in this case is, indeed, most strange, for it is an orthodox surrender to the authority of the Indian commentators and grammarians — a surrender which seems quite out of place to be suited in view of these hair-splitters, who in all their subtlety have still very often deluded those people who strain at gnats but swallow the camels"— (Z D M G p 756)

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AUTHORS UNDER REFERENCE

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WORKS REFERRED TO